A VINDICATION OF THE SINCERITY OF THE Protestant Religion

In the Point of Obedience to SOVEREIGNS.

Opposed
To the Doctrine of Rebellion, authorised and practised by the Pope and the Jesuites.

In Answer to a Jesuitical Libel, Entituled *PHILANAX ANGLICUS.*

By PETER DU MOULIN, D.D. Canon of Christs-Church *Canterbury*, one of His Majesties Chaplains.

The Fourth Edition:
In which more light is given about the horrible POPISH PLOT, whereby our late Sacred Sovereign *Charles* the I. was Murdered.

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To the Most Reverend Father in God GILBERT, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury *his* GRACE, *Primate of all* England, *and Metropolitan, my most Honoured* Diocesan *and* Visitor.

MY LORD,

AN Adversary of the Truth, and therefore Yours, hath lately offered to your Grace the same abuse as the *Roman Souldiers* did to the Lard Jesus. For as they arrayed him in Royal Scarlet, bowed the Knee before him, and said to him, *Hail King of the Jews*; but at the same time spit upon him, and smote him on the head: This Enemy, who is also a *Roman Souldier*, clotheth your Grace with high praises, and makes a profound obeysance to your Place and Merits in an Epistle Dedicatory; But by the same Epistle he puts under your Graces Protection a charge of Rebellion against

our Catholick Orthodox Church, and an Apology for the Doctrine of the Jeſuites. This is ſtroking and ſtriking together. No blame is ſo diſgraceful as ſuch praiſes. So did the Devil call Chriſt the Son of the living God, to diſgrace him by his Teſtimony, and make him to be taken for one of his Confedrates. The man never appearing to his own work, ſeems to acknowledge, that neither his perſon nor his work deſerveth the notice of the world. Yet I thought it neceſſary to let the world know what a cheat is put upon the Readers by this child of darkneſs, who being altogether unknown to your Grace (as your ſelf were pleaſed to expreſs unto me) beareth himſelf for your ancient Acquaintance, and claims your Patronage while he diſgraceth your Perſon, and revileth your Doctrine. Neither doth the Libel, being but an ignorant ſcolding de-

ſerve

ſerve an anſwer; but that the man recompenceth his ſhallow learning with his ſuperlative malice, making uſe of this conjuncture, when the minds of loyal Subjects are exulcerated by their late and long ſufferings by Rebellious Zelots under pretence of Religion, to make the ſufferers to fall out with Religion it ſelf.

Theſe are the depths of Satan, who knows perfectly how to ſteer the ſpirits by the Rudder of their moſt ſenſible Intereſſes, and at this time labours to drown the too remiſs ſenſe of holy Belief, in the quick reſentments of perſonal oppreſsion. Bleſſed be God that he is come ſhort of his aim in this attempt; and that this Libeller by his Impoſture hath only ſtirred the juſt indignation of good Chriſtians, in whom the intereſs of Gods Truth & Glory takes place before all perſonal concernments. Himſelf might have been an example of that juſt

ſeve-

severity which he commends in your Grace, if he had been as bold to Present the Book, as audacious to Dedicate it to so great a Patron. I cannot but have recourse unto the same Patron which he hath chosen for his untruths, to protect the confutation of them: Knowing, that the Vindication of the Truth is in its right place, being put under your Graces protection; in whose shadow the Church rejoyceth, as of the gracious Patron of Piety and Vertue, the Incourager of Goodness, the Maintainer of the Orthodox Faith; and in that respect, the right Arm of the great *Defender* of the same. That your Government may be blessed unto the Church, and Prosperous and Honourable unto your Self, is the fervent Prayer,

My LORD,

Of your GRACES
Most dutiful and humblest Servant,
PETER DU MOULIN.

To the Roman Catholicks *of his Majesties Dominions.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THe Adversary against whom I appear having laid a Charge of Rebellion against a sort of Protestants in the Title page, hath in his Book brought the generality of Protestants under that Indictment. I will not imitate his unsincerity, by laying that Charge proper to the Court of *Rome*, and the Jesuites, upon all the Roman Catholicks, knowing the Loyalty of many of them, with whose acquaintance I am honored; and making use in this Treatise of the Testimony of great Persons, and whole Courts and Societies of the Roman profession, against the precepts of Disloyalty enjoyned by the Roman Court, and acted by the Jesuites. For to these only I profess that my present opposition is limitted. Only I will be here your humble Suitor, That since the Pope is called by Cardinal *Bellarmine*, *The* [a] *Head of the Faith*, and [b] *The Fundamental Stone of* Sion, you be pleased to consider seriously, how taking the Popes sense and authority for the foundation of your Faith in this point, can consist with that Honour and Loyalty which you harbour in your generous Breasts: And how you that venture your lives so freely for the Defence of your King, can acknowledge the power which

[a] *Epist. ad Blackwel.*
[b] Præfat. ad lib. de summo Pontifice.

which the Pope assumeth of disposing of the Crowns and Lives of Kings, and absolving you from the duty of your Allegiance when he thinks good. Certainly, when you have weighed this in the Ballance of Conscience and sound Judgment, you shall find your selves hedged in within this *Dilemma*, either to cease to be good Subjects, or to acknowledge that the Pope can erre, even when he speaks & makes Decrees from his Chair. Of which Truth if you be once perswaded, your way is open to know more Truth. That our Faith may be setled upon that *Truth which makes us free*, we must call upon the assistance of the God of Truth, and prepare for it a meek, docible, and unprejudiced spirit; which are qualities altogether remote from the furious & contumelious Adversary whom I take in hand in this Treatise. Yet since they are not opprobrious terms, but clear proofs that are most offensive to the accused, I cannot deny that I have been more offensive to him, than he to the Protestants. God govern his Catholick Church with the Spirit of Truth and Peace, and convert with his blessings those that curse us. So prayeth

Joh. 8. 32.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servant in the Lord
Jesus our Common Saviour,

Peter Du Moulin.

PREFACE.

The Design, Style, and Genius of that Libel. Observations upon the Epistle and Prefaces.

THE licentiousness of the Press hath long since beaten me to that patience to let others speak, contenting my self to think; Looking upon the eagerness of some men to confute all untruths that appear abroad, as a relique of Knight-Errantry, which obliged the Knights to redress all the wrongs that were done in the world. But my patience was overcome by the bold and pernicious untruths vented in a Libel, tending to no less than the rooting out of Protestants out of all States of the world, as Rebels by their very Religion, and the Bane of all Governments. The whole work is purum putum mendacium, *right mettal of untruth in the main substance. The Title is false, for it picks a quarrel with the Presbyterians only, whereas the Book declareth open War to all the Protestants under Heaven. The pretence false; for the Author pretends to undertake*

 that

that task out of love to the King, whereas he works the Kings ruin by calumnies against his true Subjects, and by maintaining the Jesuites, the sworn enemies of his Crown and State. The face he puts on, is false many ways; for he pretends in his Epistle and Prefaces to publish the Book of a dead man, whereas the uniformity, or rather deformity of the affected broken Style, and Billings-Gate *language, in the Epistle, Prefaces, and the Body of the Book, shews all that false Coin to have been stampt in the same base Mint. The Author is produc'd as a Priest of the Church of* England; *whereas he speaks as a Priest of the Church of* Rome. *The Publisher calls himself* Bellamy, *whereas he is a* false Friend, *and a true Enemy, and most like it is, that no such man as he names himself, is to be found: For such Vizards are borrow'd by these children of darkness, A wrong Name, A contrary Profession, A dead man that speaks out of his Grave; three Vizards one over another; lies upon lies in the Porch; a right Entry into a Shop of Lies.*

But how much falshood is in the Epistle? Was Bellamy *or the pretended dead Author well acquainted with that venerable Prelate to whom the Book is Dedicated? Did* Bellamy *ever present the Book to his Lordship? Did he chuse him for his Patron, and stroak him with deser-*

deserved praises, to honor him, or to betray him, and make him odious, as a Patron of Popery, and Protector of Jesuites? And lastly the accusations laid against the several Protestants, even these that are true, if any be, are they not falsely imputed to the generality of the party? And are not most of the alledged passages out of their writings maimed, detorted, or plainly forged?

O God of Truth, who lovest truth in the inward parts, and lookest with piercing judicial eyes into the bottom of crafty projects through all the coverings of Hypocrisie; Is thy Truth to be defended with Falshood? What fellowship hath the simplicity of thy Gospel with this heap of multiplyed Impostures? And how can the zeal of Religion put a man that hath some sense of ingenuity, upon such false and crooked ways? Well, I see my self engaged to fight with wild Beasts, as St. Paul *did at* Ephesus. Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. Let them also that hate him, flee before him.

I did not see the Book but after the second Edition, eight months after its first appearing; And though I had seen it before, I would have made no haste to appear upon the lists against this Adversary, but expected of the Secular Power a more substantial, and indeed the right Confutation. But what! the smalness of the Libel,

and the Libeller, kept them hitherto from the Censure of Authority: For those that stand in high places, can hardly discern such straws below: But we that stand below, may look nearer, and see poyson in a straw; and ought to represent unto our Superiours the mischievousness of this small, yet dangerous thing.

Dangerous I say, not for the strength of reason, nor for the bitterness neither; for the very extremity of malice in that Book makes it weak in reason, as it is the natural effect of pride and choler to enervate the judgment, and take reason off the books. But that which makes the Book dangerous, is the unparallell'd boldness and presumptuousness of the attempt. Could we believe, but that we see it, that in England, *where the Law gives no Toleration to the* Romish *Religion, a Papist durst appear in Print, with his and his Printers name to the Book, to tax not only the Protestant Reformers, but the very Reformation of Rebellion and High Treason? Put among* Luther's *crimes, That* he preached against the Tyranny and Superiority of the Bishop of *Rome*, and persuaded the people not to render him any Obedience. *Call the Reformation the New Gospel, Excuse* Mariana, *and justifie the Jesuites, against those that charge them with the Doctrine of King-killing; Cry down Protestants, as persons not to be*

trusted

trusted with any part of the Government of the State, or suffered to live in any Commonwealth; Bestow upon them the most contumelious terms that he could devise, Traytors, Diabolical, Cockatrices, Infernal Spirits, are the mildest words that he giveth them.

It is a silly colour to his malice to name them always Protestants of Integrity, *as if he meant a different sort from other Protestants; whereas under that name he persecuteth all the Reformed Christians of* Europe, *following them from Country to Country. And although he durst not so openly rail against the* English *Reformers, yet can he not abstain to tax them of Rebellion under Queen* Mary, *saying most falsely, That there was more Rebellions in her poor five years, than in the forty four of Queen* Elizabeth; *thereby to show, that the* Roman *Catholicks are the far more loyal subjects.*

In his pa. 109. his Vizard fall down, and he saith openly, *These rebel Doctrines are backt by the generality of those that call themselves Protestants.* pag. 71.

But that which goes beyond all examples of the most superlative impudence, that most virulent Libel against the Protestants of Integrity, which is the Religion professed in England, *he makes bold to recommend to the Protection of that Eminent and Vertuous Prelate, now our most Reverend Lord Archbishop of* Canterbury, *then the second Ecclesiastical Person of all the Province, and President of the Convocation.*

I pray Sir Philopapa (*for* Philanax Anglicus *is too good a Title for you*) *do you know who you speak to? Do you think what you say? Do you remember where you are?* In qua tandem Civitate Catilina, arbitraris te vivere? *Do you think you are at* Rome *or* Madrid, *where you may bring, as you do, all Protestants to the Inquisition? Or do you hope that our Loyal Clergy will mistake you for one of their side, because you rail against* Knox *and* Buchanan, *and make some profession of Obedience, and declame against the late Rebellion? And when they know you once for the man you are, do you presume that you can make them forget what Sovereign you are sworn unto, and what power the Pope claims over all Kingdoms, and what particular Title he pretends to* England *and* Ireland?

Certainly Sir Philopapa (*for the Pope is the King you love, and whose Interest you promote among our Kings Subjects*) *I hope you shall find that your loud crys at my Lords Grace of* Canterbury's *door, for the putting down of all Protestants of Integrity, will prove as improper and unseasonable, as if you proclaimed at the Court-gates the Ordinance of the Rebels Parliament for putting down Monarchy; and that you shall be helped with some personal interest to increase your hatred against the Protestants of Integrity: for such shall you find*

find the Kings Majesty, His Council, His Parliament, the pious Fathers of the Church, and the wise Judges of the Land. Could you not content your self to enjoy quietly your Sovereigns Clemency and forbearance, but you must defame in Print all that are not of your gang, which are no less than the King and the State? From their Justice nothing can secure you but your obscurity. But while you take an order that your person may lie undiscovered, I will make bold to discover some of your Impostures: All I cannot, neither is it material; for all that I need to do to provide an antidote against your poison, is to do two things: The one, to wipe off the aspersions of Rebellion which you cast upon the Holy Doctrine of the Protestant Churches. The other, to bring to the Bar the true Rebels; which will be no recrimination, but asserting the Pope in his ancient known possession, of being the grand Patron and Architect of Rebellion of Subjects against their Sovereigns, and the especial director of High Treason against the Kings of England.

Before I look to the body of his Book, somthing must be said of his Epistle and Prefaces. His Epistle is addressed to no less than the Right Reverend Father in God, *Gilbert* Lord Bishop of *London*, and Dean of His Majesties Chappel Royal, *since deservedly promoted*

moted to the highest dignity of the Church of England. *A great honor to his Book. How far the great Patron which he chuseth is honored with that Dedication, and the due praises which he payeth unto him, is obvious to any ordinary understanding. Praise at the best is* κύφη δόσις ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, but a light gift to a wise man. *And since* praise *hath its price from the* praiser, *that eminent Prelate is little obliged to this Gentlemans praises, who justifies in his Book what he is, and what he aims at. It is praising him with a vengeance, to take him for a Protector of his mischievous attempt.*

Seneca. Sit tibi tam turpe laudari à turpibus quam si laudaris ob turpia.

Τὸν αὐτὸν αἰνεῖν & ψέγειν ἀνδρὸς κακοῦ.

He hath more obliged our late most Reverend Archbishop Juxon, *now a glorious Saint in Heaven, whom he hath not spared to blame, though he doth not name him, but he points at him with his finger: And then tells my Lord of* London, From all these vanitys, your Lordships known Innocency and Piety hath always defended you; *scientifically inferring, that Innocency and Piety is inconsistent with the Character which he had given of that great Prelate. Could this Epistler be so senseless as to expect thanks from a Bishop of* London, *for raising his commendation upon the disgrace of his Metropolitan? What needed he to go*

so

so far out of his subject to bring in that malicious exception? For the blame of the one adds nothing to the praise of the other. Does he not shew his hatred against Protestant Prelates, which he could not but express, even when he took one of them for his Patron? And no wonder that a Jesuite should malign an Archbishop of Canterbury, *seeing the Jesuites had no greater enemies than those that sate in that See. That which he finds amiss in that rarely accomplished Prelate, is commended in him by wise men, his laudable curiosity, fit for a great Naturalist, as he was, to keep several sorts of Animals about his house, as* Aristotle *did before him: Their Nature and Inclinations he would observe with a judicious eye, and speak of them pertinently and delightfully. Of these Natural Lectures he was pleased to make me hearer several times, and to imploy me to find him Books of that subject. So serious were his Recreations, when he would unbend, among those whom he honoured with his Discourses and Table, after his great Imployments about the Government of Church and State.*

As that great persons known Piety *and* Innocency *cannot be blasted by such a weak enemy as this Jesuite, so it needs not be defended by such a weak Champion as I am. His admired Vertue shines in an Orb elevated*

far above the reach of the barking of envy; and if he needed the approbation of any under God, he had a Royal Testimony, when his late Majesty, our glorious Saint and Martyr had so much confidence in his Piety and Innocency, and together in his Wisdom and Courage, that of all his Divines he chose him for his second, when he was to encounter the terrors of a violent and ignominious death: And by the excellent use which he made of his godly counsel in the retirement of his last devotions, he ended his combates in a victorious death over all his enemies Spiritual and Temporal, and yielded his great soul unto God with joy and comfort. For one thing this Jesuite and his Confreres had great reason to hate that godly Prelate; That after His Majesty had spoken many Divine words upon the Scaffold, he put him in mind to make a profession of his Religion; which he did, and professed before God and the world, that he dyed a Protestant according to the Religion Established by Law in the Church of England. *A profession which gave great discontent to the Papists and the Fanaticks, for both wish'd that he had dyed a Papist indeed.*

It is known with what calmness of spirit, prudence, and magnanimity, that vertuous Prelate went through the tryals which he was put to after the Kings death; for

for he was as wise as a Serpent, though as harmless as a Dove: And among his many Vertues, he was a great Master of two, which seldom meet together, a singular and Moses-*like Meekness, and an invincible Constancy. They that have known him moderating in the University, and have seen him since acting in the greatest businesses of the Kingdom, admire the readiness and solidity of his judgment, fitted alike for speculation and action, and in both excellent. His dexterity and patience overcoming the most difficult affairs. His sincerity in declaring himself without Complements, and his fidelity in keeping his promises without wavering, were very remote from the imputation of* Vanity, *which this Enemy would fasten upon the reputation of that truly great and good man. I cannot leave, I cannot part from the mention of him, without that reverend and affectionate expression of the* Jews *when they speak of their vertuous Friends departed,* zecarono liberaca, *Let his memory be blessed, for so his soul is in Heaven, for all the good he hath done in Earth to so many, and to me for one, for to his Graces goodness, next to God, I owe great part of my well-being.*

To return to our Adversary; Many things in his Epistle and Preface shew him to be an Adversary indeed to the whole Protestant party, and a sworn slave to the

Court of Rome. *But as he takes no pains to prove any thing, but that all Protestants are Rebels by their Religion, I will not take pains to disprove any thing else.*

All his Preface is verba & voces; *Moralities far from his purpose, interlarded with invectives without ground. For who are those* that will do no good work for fear of meriting by them? *And where are those* Protestants among whom dulness and heavinels of spirit is taken up as a practice? *A character more befitting Monastical devotion. God fetcheth light out of darkness; but it is the Devils work to fetch darkness out of light. This man labours to do the same,* Sententias loquitur carnifex. *But he goeth untowardly to work: for he pulls his doctrines by the hair to bring them to his uses. It seems the man had made some petty declamations when he was a Grammar Scholar, in a broken boyish stile, made up of a thousand stollen shreds: And now, lest these pieces of wit should perish, he brings them in by head and shoulders to decide controversies in points not controverted. For to his silly commendations of* devotion *and* humility, *one may say as the King to him that would commend* Hector *in his presence,* Quis vero illas vituperat? *What need you speak for these Vertues, when no body speaks against them?*

And

And what are these declamations to the matter in hand?

To give a taste of his learning in Greek, he translates πρακτὸν ἄλογον an eloquent Oration.

He calls St. Austin the Oracle of the Latin Church; *But he never belonged to it, but to the* African.

And for a taste of his wit and eloquence, barking at the Moon, *he saith to be* the Divinity of Dogs.

This is of the same kind, The blessed eyes of Bats they have to mock at the greatest lights. *But if the Bats mock at the great light, they would out-face it, whereas they hide themselves from it.*

One more of these impertinencies out of the body of the book. He gives these commendations to our late excellent King, a Prince as Wise as *Apollo*, Valiant as *Achilles*, Vertuous as *Socrates*, Pious as *Æneas*, and Beautiful as an *Amazon. O brave Boy! Well declaimed for a Scholar of the second Form! See what comes by being bred in the Colledges of the* Jesuites *of* Flanders; *for such a gallant strain of Oratory could never have been learned in the Schools of* Westminster *or* Eaton. *Yet me-thinks the first and the last of these comparisons have a reach quite beyond common sense. Will he call holy King* Charles a Prince as wise as *Apollo?*

Pag. 57. & 58. There wanted no more but *animo prudens, ut Homerus*; as it is upon the Tomb of *Richard* the II.

Apollo? It is a fit parallel for Julian *the Apostate. Had he no better comparison for that Saint than a Pagan God and a Devil, who by reason of the uncertainty of his Oracles, was called* λοξίας crooked and winding: *How doth that fit such a pattern of Christian and Royal ingenuity, so sincere in his words, so real in his actions? The last parallel is as incongruous as the first, He calls the King as* Beautiful as an *Amazon. Where hath this Antiquary found those* Viragines *the Amazons with their right breast burnt, set out as Paragons of Beauty? And though they had been such, Is a Womans Beauty fit to express the Majestical presence of a King? Could he find in his heart to compare that Vertuous Prince to those horrible Queans the* Amazons, *who had killed their Husbands and went to Bull among their Neighbours? How do these two comparisons suit with the subject, and one with another?*

----Velut ægri somnia vanæ
Finguntur species, ut nec pes nec caput uni
Reddatur formæ------

This Writer affords more occasions to make sport with him by his ignorance, but more by his blind choler; than which there is nothing that disarmeth a man more, and exposeth him more to be a laughing-stock. Such another Picrochol *and* Cacafuego *I never met with,*

His

His ſtyle is a continual caſting of fire-brands, and firing of Granado's to ſcatter among the Proteſtants in all the corners of the World. What would become of the Ship of this Church, if theſe men ruled upon the Deck, and were maſters of the Stern and the Sayls, ſeeing they are ſo ſwaggering now they lye under the Hatches?

Let the Author of the Book keep himſelf there for me, and remain unknown. The Publiſher will not acknowledge himſelf to be the Father, but only the God-father, although the Epiſtle, Preface, and Book, look like three brats of one venter. We need not queſtion who is the Father, ſince the God-father anſwereth for the child.

Neither is it more material to ſearch into the occaſion of the writing of the Book, which he ſaith to be a Letter from a Proteſtant of integrity, in anſwer a Letter from a perſon of quality. *Theſe Letters I never ſaw: But if that Proteſtant of integrity will have the* Presbyterians conformable to the Church of *England* in Eccleſiaſticks, *as the Epiſtle ſeems to intimate, we are of his mind; neither is any more required of the Presbyterians for the bleſſed work of concord, and for the comfort of their Proteſtant Brethren, aud their own.*

The

The Title of Philanax Anglicus, *whereby the Author makes a profession to love the King, is his passport into the patience of the Reader: And he makes of it a Fort, under the shelter of which he thinks he may boldly shoot upon whom he pleaseth to take for his mark. But what advantage this* lover of the King *alloweth to him, is much like the gift of Juglers; his Majesty may hold it fast, and find nothing in his hand, as we shall see afterwards.*

CHAP.

A Vindication of the Proteſtant Religion in the point of obedience to Sovereigns; oppoſed to the Doctrine of Rebellion, authorized and practiſed by the Pope and the Jeſuites. In anſwer to a Jeſuitical Libel, intituled, Philanax Anglicus.

CHAP. I.

Of the Objections out of the Books of Proteſtant Writers.

THe Book of this Adverſary conſiſting of ſtale Objections, which have been a thouſand times anſwered, would put me and any man that would anſwer him to the unavoidable neceſſity of ſaying over many things that were ſaid before; but that all his Objections may be reduced into one, and therefore one anſwer will ſerve for them all.

For from the beginning to the end, he objects unto us ſome paſſages out of Proteſtant Writers which ſavour of diſobedience, as he dreſſeth them; and ſome faults in that kind of thoſe that have embraced the Proteſtant party: whence he inferreth, That both the Doctrine and the Practcie of Reformed Religion is Rebellion. He labours eſpecially to pick faults in the firſt Reformers; but

coming ſhort of his end, he quarrelleth with others that came long ſince the Reformation.

But though he had brought the Reformers to plead guilty, he had done nothing againſt us; For to all theſe allegations we anſwer, that our Belief depends not upon the Doctrine of any particular perſon or perſons, much leſs upon their actions. But that to know the true belief of our Churches, one muſt look upon their publick Confeſſions of Faith.

The Law was received by the diſpoſition of Angels, ſaith St. *Steven*, Act. vii. 53. and ſo was the Goſpel. But thoſe whom God uſed to draw his Church out of the abuſes of Popery were not angels but men, whom we hold not to have been infallible. Wherefore if one alledge to the *Engliſh* Churches ſome hard Sayings of perſons that had a hand in the Reformation, to the *German* Churches of *Luther*, to the *Helvetian* of *Zuinglius*; they will anſwer, They were men. They are not the Pillars of our Faith. Since thoſe men have laid open the Holy Scripture before us which was ſhut up before, it is no more for their word that we believe, for our ſelves have ſeen the ſaving Truth of God, and upon that we are built.

But that the faults of men may not be imploied or received to give a prejudice againſt the Doctrine of God, I deſire all judicious and ſober-minded to conſider, that in the midſt of the *Romiſh* darkneſs it was not to be expected that the ſaving light of Gods truth, and the Apoſtolical Government of the Church ſhould be diſcovered upon a ſudden by any man, completely and with all its parts. As *Rome* was not built in one day, no more was *Sion*. Many were great helpers towards the knowledg of

of the truth, who were themselves very short of it, and nevertheless ought to be reverently remembred by us for doing more than was to be expected in that Age, Such were the *Waldenses*; such was *Wickleſ*, such was *John Hus*, men too severely censured by some of us as not throughly principled in many points of Religion. But how much truth did they discover? How much saving Doctrine did they bring forth? What lasting seeds of Reformation did they sow, which lying buried for some Ages, sprung forth, and had a happy growth to a greater perfection in the Age of our Fathers? Truly, although the announcing of the Gospel by the Angels be called *the Day-spring from on high*, because that light at Christs coming brake forth as it were from the Meridian, not from the Horizon, and was full at its very rising; we are not to expect at every return of that light, after a long night that there shall be no difference between break of Day and Noon. No; the Truth is compared unto *a Light shining in a dark place until the day dawn and the Day-Star arise*. In these last Ages of the World, after a long darkness, the Sun of Truth did rise by little and little. It shone at the first with much fog about it and cast long shades. And we have reason to acknowledg with thankfulness and admiration, that among those shades so mueh saving Light did shine as inlightened the understanding and comforted the Conscience with the mystery of Gods reconciliation with men in Jesus Christ through faith and repentance, which is the main substance of Religion. For Grace as Nature begins with the noble parts, which are perfectioned long before the outward be finisht.

Luk. i. 78.

2 Pet. i. 19.

Although I reverence very much the memory of those that were raised by God to discover the errours of the Court of *Rome*, I will not justifie their errours, if they had any, nor all the words and writings of them that came after, and brought their work to a greater perfection. To compass that great work among the highest contradiction, and against the current of custom, if men of stout spirits (and there was need of such) had let fall from their mouth or pen some less reverend expressions than duty required, concerning the superior powers that opposed them, none needs wonder at it, and yet none needs to justifie it, and we are very far from it. But though they had spoken treason, it casts no blur upon our profession, which is expreſt in our publick confessions. Neither do we acknowledg any private man to be the warrant of our faith.

I may then save my labour in examining whether our Adversary hath faithfully alledged the writings of Protestant Divines, and truly represented their opinions, since their opinions are not our rule. And yet so much we will say for them, that those very men whose opinions their Adversaries mis-represent unto the world, were the Writers and Composers of those Confessions of Faith which were subscribed unto, and acknowledged by the National Churches as the publick Declarations of their belief. Which Confessions are so full and pregnant in asserting the obedience of subjects unto their Soveraigns (as I will demonstrate, God willing, in the third Chapter of this Treatise) that the greatest Adversaries find little to say against it. And our Adversary (to whom his Party owes this commendation, that he hath carefully collected and epitomized all the objections made against us about

about the point of Obedience) passeth by our Confessions of faith as being without the reach of his exceptions. Only he nibbleth a little at the 39. Article of the *French* Confession, which is this; *We affirm that Laws are to be obeyed, Tributes to be paid, and the Yoke of subjection to be born, although the Magistrates be infidels.* Thus far excellent well, saith the Adversary, but that which follows spoils all in his opinion. *The Soveraign Empire of God remaining always entire,* Why? *here is a gallant latitude* (saith he) *for disobedience and rebellion.* But no such latitude is left by the Article. All that good reason can infer out of it, is, that we must obey the Magistrates as long as we may do it without disobeying God. There is great difference between not obeying and rebelling.

I see nothing else bearing the stamp of publick consent of any National Church among Protestants that this man excepts against in the point of Obedience. For his invective against the *Geneva* Bible, is a wilful mistake. Some *English* exiles at *Geneva* Printed there a Bible; An Edition justly discredited by a Note in the Margin, 2 *Chron.* v. 16. upon that *Asa* put by his mother *Maacha* from the government for her idolatry. And the annotation saith, that he should not only have deposed her, but killed her. Which impious Paradox this Gentleman imputeth *to the whole Congregation of those Protestants of integrity*, as he calls us, because, saith he, *their holy* Geneva *Bible is admitted by their whole Kirk*; which we deny. No *English* Translation of the Bible is authentical to be read in Churches, but that which was made by the commandment of King JAMES of glorious memory. Neither was that *Geneva* Bible translated or received by publick Authority. Neither is *Geneva* more

more to be taxed for it, than *London* for Printing the wicked Libel which I am now confuting, both being Printed without Licence. That note put in by some Fanatick, is rejected by all Protestants, and the generality must not be charged with a private mans folly.

Although I answer not for any private man, yet that the Reader may judge what credit he may give to this Gentlemans allegations, I have set down here a sample of his unsincerity in his alledging of *Luther*. He sets down three passages taken, as he saith, out of *Luther*'s Treatise *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ*. The first *cap. De Sacramento Baptismi. Ab omnibus hominum legibus exempti sumus libertate Christiana nobis per Baptismum donata*; that is, *We are freed from all human Laws by the Christian Liberty given to us by Baptism.*

Pag. 82. and 83.

I made use of the Edition of *Jena*, An. 1600. tom. 2. omnium operum D. Mart. Lutheri.

I may confidently affirm that these words are not to be found either in that Chapter, or in the whole Treatise. And if the Reader will be so inquisitive as to look upon the place, he shall find it so. There *Luther* complains of the ceremonies wherewith the Pope hath clogged the Sacrament of Batism, and maintaineth that neither Bishop, nor Pope, nor Angel hath power to impose such human additions upon the Conscience of Christians to be obeyed as Laws. And yet if they be imposed he will have Christians to bear with them, keeping still to themselves that liberty of Conscience to remember, that such things are wrongfully imposed, and taking heed either to justifie the tyranny, or to murmur against it. This is the sense of the whole discourse of *Luther*. But he saith no where *that the Christian Liberty given to us by Baptism, exempts us from the Laws of Men.* This is a meer fiction.

So

So is his ſecond allegation out of the ſame Book, *cap. de Matrimonio. Scio nullam Remp. Legibus feliciter adminiſtrari.* He makes *Luther* ſay, *I know that no State is happily governed by Laws:* but there is not one word of that in the whole Chapter of Matrimony, nor in the whole Treatiſe.

And *Luthers* opinion was as far from that Tenet as the Eaſt is from the Weſt, and the Pope and his Conclave from Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Shall we wonder that the Pope alters the *words* of Scripture, making the Text ſay, *ſhe ſhall bruiſe thy heel*, inſtead of *he*, to transfer the victory of Chriſt over the Devil unto Chriſts Mother; or that he giveth to Scripture a contrary *ſenſe*, turning *Feed my ſheep* into *Depoſe Kings, and diſpoſe of Kingdoms?* when ſuch men as our Adverſary take upon them to forge what *words* and *ſenſe* they will, and to father them upon whom they pleaſe?

Quid Domini facient, audent cum talia fures?

The third allegation is out of the Chapter *de Ordine* in the ſame Treatiſe; the words, as our Adverſary recites them, are theſe, *Turpe enim eſt, & iniquiter ſervile Chriſtianum hominem, qui liber eſt, aliis quam cœleſtibus & divinis legibus ſubjectum eſſe*; that is, *It is a foul thing, and wickedly ſervile, that a Chriſtian man who is free, ſhould be ſubject to any other but the divine and heavenly Laws.* But this Gentleman, or he from whom he hath borrowed theſe allegations, hath baſely corrupted and falſified this paſſage, putting *legibus* inſtead of *traditionibus*, which alters the ſenſe altogether, and changeth the queſtion: for *Luther* diſputeth againſt impoſing unneceſſary traditions in Religion, as neceſſary to ſalvation, and would not have a Chriſtian to ſubject himſelf in that kind to any *tra-*

dition,

dition, but ſuch as are Divine and Heavenly. But this corrupter repreſents him as refuſing ſubjection to Civil Laws and Temporal Powers. Can there be a more ungodly and odious impoſture? And how doth this mans inference follow upon *Luther*'s diſcourſe? *So that it is moſt plain* (ſaith he) *that it was not* Luther's *deſign only to pull down Monarchy, but all other kinds of Civil Government, and to extirpate all Human Laws.* Certainly that inference depends no more upon *Luther*'s diſcourſe, then the new ſtars of *Galileo* upon the Aphoriſms of *Hippocrates*.

It is a good ſport to ſee how incenſed this Gentleman is againſt *Luther* for exhorting Kings and Princes to fall upon the Pope and his Cardinals, and to fulfil the Prophecy of *Rev.* xvii. That the Kings of the earth ſhall ſtrip the great Harlot naked, devour her, and burn her with fire. Which he exaggerates as High Treaſon, becauſe he acknowledgeth the Pope for his Sovereign, and the King of kings, whom none can reſiſt or call to account without incurring the crime of Rebellion.

For his other allegations againſt *Luther*, he ſhall not have the luck to be believed upon his word, after I have laid open his infidelity in that kind. He that hath leiſure or curioſity enough, may ſearch the places and examine whether they be true or falſe, neither of which concerns us. Yet a judicious view of the affairs of *Germany* at that time, and of the nature of Sovereignty and Subjection in the Empire, of which I intend to ſay ſomthing in the next Chapter, will make his hardeſt expreſſions to ſeem leſs ſtrange.

It is certain that he writ againſt King *Henry* the VIII. moſt ſlovenly. Yet obſerve, that *Henry* the VIII. was

not

not his King. That he said nothing against the obedience due to him by his subjects, and that he made amends to the King since, and cryed *Peccavi*. He was then less to blame than the Jesuite *Sander*, who called the same King (his natural Prince) *another* Mahomet, *the root of sin, and a most impious and sacrilegious Tyrant*, and Queen *Elizabeth Lupam Anglicanam, the English Wolf-bitch*, and made them no amends for it.

Sander, lib. de Schismate Anglicano.

This testimony cannot be denied to *Luther*, that he opposed Rebellion most vigorously; as it may be seen in his Epistle to the Boors that rose in arms, and by his Sermon in the Camp, both pregnant for the obedience of subjects to their Princes; of which *Sleidan* giveth a faithful account, a better Author than our Adversary, or *Cochlæus Luther*'s enemy.

Sleidan lib. 5. ad an. 1525. Id. lib. 14. ad Ann. 1542.

The first and greatest instrument of the *Helvetian* Reformation was *Zuinglius*, out of whose Books the Adversary picks some passages to exhort the *Switzers* and *Germans* to defend their Religion against the Emperor. If there had been no quarrel of Religion at that time, yet he would have exhorted them to stand for their liberties against the Emperor. For the *Switzers* having shaken off the yoke of the Empire two hundred years before: It is no marvel that *Zuinglius* was not careful to exhort his Country-men and Neighbors to obedience to the Emperor, the perpetual underminer of the State which he lived in.

Observe that the Authors that write of the power of Princes, and of the duty of subjects, determine it according to the form of the States in which they live: and so no wonder that *Zuinglius* a *Switzer* acknowledgeth no successive power, but conceiveth all Princes to be eligible

and deposable by the Commonwealth. And that *Calvin* and *Beza* living in an Aristocratical State, shewed also in their Writings more inclination towards that kind of Government. So the *German* and *Italian* Writers are for a mixt and much limited Government. The *English* and *French* for Monarchy, with certain Laws. And if the *Turks* and *Muscovites* could make Books, they would write for the Despotical and unlimited power.

Our Adversary layeth a heavy charge upon *Melanchon*, that he should say that *the inferior Magistrates may cut the throats of the superior, and all this for reforming Religion*: for which he referreth us to two of his Books, without quoting the particular place; much like the direction of the Goodwifes Letter, *To my Husband dwelling at the Wars*. But no such thing shall be found in all *Melanchon*'s Works. Neither is it suitable to the spirit of that wise and meek man.

Pag. 105. Melanchon in Epit. Moral. Philos. Id in lib. de Consil. Evangelicis.

For *Calvin*, by reason of his Aristocratical Doctrine about the Tribunian power of the *tres ordines regni* over the King: I would leave him for such as he is; but that it is my proper business at this time to discover the imposture of my Adversary, and he hath committed a signal one against *Calvin*, whom he hath served just as he did *Luther* before. For he brings him upon the Stage,

——Lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora manusque ambas.——

as he did the other, miserably torn and disfigured.

P. 103. Speaking of *oaths which bind us to observe and obey the King*, he saith, that *to all Oaths of this nature Mr.* Calvin *from his high Cathedral and consistorial Tribunal gives this absolution*; *Quibuscunque hujus Evangelii lux affulget*, &c.

ab

ab omnibus laqueis & juramentis absolvitur. I cannot make good *English* of false *Latine*, of which *Calvin* is not guilty, but it is as familiar with this Gentleman as false Doctrine. His meaning is to make *Calvin* say, that when a man is inlightned with the Gospel of *Geneva*, he is free from all Oaths to his Sovereign; for it is of all *Oaths of that nature* that he makes *Mr.* Calvin *to give absolution.* But there is a swarm of corruptions in that allegation. The words of *Calvin* are these. *Quibuscunque ergo Christus Evangelii sui luce affulget, non dubium est quin ab omnibus eos laqueis expediat quibus se per superstitionem induerant*; that is, *As many then as Christ illuminateth with the light of his Gospel, no doubt but he sets them free from the snares into which they had engaged themselves by superstition.* Without insisting upon all the words which he changeth, or addeth, or leaveth out: He altereth *Calvin*'s question, whose discourse I have therefore set in the Margin, that the Reader may see that he speaks of Monastical Vows, which he affirms to be void, when by the light of the Gospel they appear to be contrary to the Christian Liberty purchased by Christ unto his Church. Whereas this Gentleman makes use of that passage to make *Calvin* absolve Subjects of their Allegiance to their Sovereigns. Where is Conscience? Where is Sincerity?

Calvin, l. 4. *Inst. c.* 13. *sect.* 21. Qui ex Monachismo ad honestum aliquod vivendi genus concedunt, fractæ fidei & perjurii graviter accusantur, quod vinculum (ut vulgo creditur) insolubile quo erant Deo & Ecclesiæ obligati abruperint. At ego nullum fuisse vinculum dico, ubi quod homo confirmat Deus abrogat. Deinde ut demus fuisse obligatos quum ignoratione Dei & errore impliciti tenerentur, nunc postquam veritatis notitiâ sunt illuminati, simul Christi gratia liberos esse dico. Nam si tantam efficaciam habet crux Christi ut à Legis divinæ maledictione quâ vincti detinebamur nos absolvat, quanto magis extraneis vinculis (quæ nihil sunt quam captiosa Satanæ retia) nos eruet. Quibuscunque ergo Christus luce Evangelii sui effulget, non dubium est quin ab omnibus eos laqueis expediat quibus se per superstitionem induerant.

Will Jesuites use such pious frauds to make Proselytes? *Habeat jam Roma pudorem?*

I cannot pardon this Gentleman his prevarication about *Calvin*, though I should make a digression for it; for is it not good sport to see him defend *Calvin* when he takes upon him to defame him? For having accused *Calvin* of Delicacy and Epicureism in his behavior, he brings for a witness *Florimond de Remond, a Gentleman of quality, who hath left us* (saith he) *the lively Image of him.* And when upon that I would see what lively Image *Florimond de Remond* left us of him, I found that he giveth this account of his life. Calvin *from his youth did macerate his body with fasting; whether it was to preserve his Health, and by that abstinence dissipate the fumes of Megrom wherewith he was afflicted, or that he might thereby be the more free to write, study, and exercise his memory. The truth is, that hardly could a man be found that equalled* Calvin *in Laboriousness. For twenty three years that he lived at* Geneva, *he preacht every day, and many times twice upon Sundays: every week he made publick lessons of Divinity, and every* Friday *he was present at the Colloquy or Conference of Pastors which they call Congregation. The rest of his time he imployed in writing Books, or answering Letters of divers persons.*

Pag. 7. Florimundus Raymundus Historiæ de nativ. Hær. &c. lib. 7. cap. 10.

Well, Sir Jesuite, do you tax *Calvin* of Epicureism after your confreres, and bring convincing proofs against it: What discipline must ye expect from your Superiors at *Douay* for thus betraying their cause? It is well if you can scape the Chamber of Meditations. In the mean while all *those serpentine* Geneva *Rabbins, that conquering Legion of the right cockatrice kind*, against whom you

These are his words Pag. 48, and 49.

you rail so emphatically, will give you thanks for your real help.

The Adversary having done with *Calvin*, falls upon *Beza*, a man for whom I am less partial than for any of the Reformed Divines, herein heir of my Reverend Fathers dislike of him for dashing the fair hopes of agreement in Religion in the Colloquy of *Poissy* by his immoderate behaviour. But to lay a charge upon *Beza*'s Doctrine about the point of the Authority of Kings, and Obedience of Subjects, he should have taken Allegations out of *Beza*'s undoubted Writings, not out of pieces without name, ascribed to him by his Enemies. Such is *Eusebius Philadelphus*: Such is the Treatise *de jure Magistratus*, which this very Adversary saith to be ascribed by some to *Hottoman*. Such is also *Junius Brutus*; concerning whom we stand to the Oracle of our English *Solomon* King *JAMES* in his *Defence of the right of Kings* against Cardinal *Perron*. Junius Brutus, *when he objects unto us, is an unknown Author, and perhaps some of the* Roman *Church hath made it to make Protestants odious unto Princes.* The conjectures of that great King are more certain than the affirmations of the Jesuites.

As for *Beza*'s siding with the Princes of the Blood that were in Arms against the Court, which our Adversary objects unto him, and proveth it by some Letters of his, and the testimony of *Baldwin* his enemy; the quality of that charge depends upon the nature of that quarrel, of which somthing must be said before he and I part.

For

Philip. Paræus Append. ad Rom. 13. Loquitur D. parens mens cum Politicis & Juris consultis non de Rege absoluta potestate induto, sed sub conditione admisso. Pag. 23.

For *Paræus*, we are against him about the point of obedience as much as our Adversary. His son seeing what general opposition his Doctrine found among the Protestants, and that the Book was burnt in *England* by Authority, made this excuse for his Father, *Valeat quantum valere potest*; *My Father speaks with the Politicks and Jurisconsults, not of a King invested with absolute power, but admitted upon conditions.* *Paræus* consider'd not how the World was abroad, but how it was in his Country.

The Adversary quarrelleth also with *Gracerus*, but hath nothing else to say against him, but that he is against the Antichrist. *Coercenda gladio est Antichristi ambitio*, which he expounds thus, *That Antichristian ambition is to be cut off with the sword, that is, all Princes and Prelates.* It seems the man taketh part with Antichrist, since he taxeth *Gracerus* for being against him. But that *Gracerus* would cut off Princes and Prelates, because he would repress the ambition of Antichrist, is a great inconsequence. Observe this Gentlemans learning, the Verb *coercere* signifieth *repress*, which is a modest term of *Gracerus*: But our Adversary translates it *cut off*; shewing himself to be as great a Scholar in Latin, as he approved himself to be in Greek, when he translated μεγαλῶν ἄλογον, *an eloquent Oration.* And that his head is much like that upon a clipt sixpence, it is a little head without letters.

Pag. 47. & seq. His objection of the Rebellious Maxims of some *Scots*, as *Knox* and *Buchanan*, is now stale and out of season, since they have been generally condemned and exploded by Protestants both on this and the other side of the Sea.

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The judgment of the learned *Rivet* to this purpose is ingenious and prudent, that these things must be imputed to the hot and audacious brains of the *Scots*, then heated again by persecution. Let me add, that when the persecution was pretty well overcome, they were kept in their heat by sharp contention. There being then a Royal Bastard, who pretending that his Father had once a design to make him King, followed that design very close, yet closely, raising all the troubles he could against the Kings Widow, and his legitimate Heir: for which the difference of Religion happening about that time, gave him fair play; for all his ambitious projects were cloaked with the furtherance of the cause of the Gospel. This was the man that countenanced that Divinity of Rebellion.

Rivet. Castig. Not. in Epist. ad Balsac. Cap. 13. Num. 14. sub finem.

Which that it may not be imputed to the Religion, I desire all judicious heads maturely to ponder Dr. *Rivet*'s wise observation; That the *Scots* of a hundred and five Kings, which they reckon till Queen *Mary*, had deposed three, expelled five, and killed thirty five. I demand then whether all those excesses must be imputed to the Doctrine and Zeal of Religion. If so, let the *Roman* Catholicks look how they shall defend their Religion which then was prevalent. But if that must be imputed to the bold and stirring Genius of the Nation, why shall the troubles risen under the Queen Regent of *Scotland* and her daughter *Mary* be ascribed to Religion, and Reformation, and supposed to be the cause, not the occasion, by the managing of crafty self-seeking men, of the distempers of the State, and the intemperance of Pens? Yea, it shall be found, as Dr. *Rivet* observeth, (and we find it now) that the light of the Evangelical truth did

very

very much mitigate the fierceness of the Nation; and that those disorders, as turbulent as they were, are not comparable to those that were in former times in *Scotland*: which as we are too ingenuous to ascribe to the Religion of those days, the *Papists* ought to shew the like ingenuity about the excesses of wits and swords since the coming of the Reformation.

It were to no purpose to follow all the objections of this Gentleman out of Protestant Writers; since whether they be well or ill alledged, our belief is not engaged in their ill opinions, nor our reputation concerned in the wrong done to them by perverse and unfaithful allegations. I have discovered so many of them, that the Reader may as well mistrust his other Citations. If all were as they are represented, they are but so many Doctors opinions strengthened with no approbation of persons Authorized for it. And to speak after our most Excellent King *JAMES* in his *Defence of the right of Kings. I would not defend all that some private men could say. It is enough that in our Religion there is no rule to be found that prescribeth Rebellion, nor any thing that dispenseth subjects from the Oath of their Allegiance, nor any of our Churches that receive that abominable Doctrine.*

This is spoken with a Royal brevity, and an imperious weight, which both confutes all objections in that kind, and together silently retorts upon the *Roman* Catholicks, that among them they have Rules that prescribe Rebellion, and an Authority dispensing from the Oath of Allegiance, and that their Church is commanded to receive that abominable Doctrine.

Blessed

Bleſſed be God, our Doctrine about the point of obedience never gave yet jealouſie to Kings, though of contrary Religion. Whereas the Sovereign Courts of the ſame Princes have expelled the Jeſuites for teaching and practiſing the Murther of Kings, and condemned the Popes Bulls to be torn for ſowing Rebellion among the people. Is it not a matter for no leſs patience than that of God, to ſee thoſe that teach Rebellion by the publick expreſs Laws of the head of their Church, now to charge our Churches with Rebellion for ſome words of private men, either falſly imputed unto them, or diſallowed by the generality of the Proteſtant Churches? Is it for him that hath cut the purſe to cry, ſtop the thief? Muſt the Doctors of High Treaſon lay an action of Rebellion againſt us, in effect becauſe we will not be Rebels with them, and acknowledg a King above our King? for when all is ſaid, that is the ground of the quarrel, and we can buy our peace with them at no other rate. But before I lay the charge againſt them, at which I long to be, I muſt make an end of anſwering the charge which they lay againſt us.

CHAP. II.

Whether the Reformation of Religion ought to be charged with Rebellion. Reflections upon the actions of the Proteſtant party.

THE Charge of Rebellion which the Adverſary layeth againſt us, conſiſteth in two things, The Doctrine of our Divines and the actions of our party, eſpecially in the beginnings of the Reformation. I have

 anſwered

anſwered the firſt part of the Charge, and ſhewed that either the Charge is falſe, or it is nothing to us, becauſe we have no dependence upon the Authors charged with it. To which I will add but this; That if as much pains was taken to ſet forth all that thoſe very men have written for obedience, as this Gentleman hath taken to make them ſpeak Treaſon, it would be far more in bulk, and more home, than all that the *Roman* Catholicks have written or dare write of that ſubject.

* Pag. 72. *Azor. Moral. Inſtit. parte* 1. *lib.* 8. *cap.* 13. Eos omnes qui erant hæretico aliqua ratione obſtricti jurisjurandi ſeu fidelitatis ſeu alterius pactionis & promiſſionis liberati.

* Our Adverſary chargeth *Luther*, the firſt Inſtrument in Gods hand for the work of Reformation in *Germany*, that he *was the great Grand-father of the prodigious Doctrines againſt the State, Dignity, and Perſons of Kings and Princes.* Why? did he Rebel againſt his Princes? Did he ſtir Rebellion in other Princes States? Did he teach, as the Jeſuit *Azorius* did ſince, that *all that were tyed with any Bond of Oath or Fidelity, or any other paction or promiſe to an Heretick, were freed of it?* Then, if ever, it was the right time for him to Preach that Doctrine, if he had approved of it, when Commons and Corporations embraced the Reformation, many of them without the Princes conſent. Nay, he did always labor moſt earneſtly and ſucceſsfully to put down Rebellions when any aroſe. What was then his Rebellion? Marry, *he Preached againſt the Tyranny and Superiority of the Biſhops of* Rome, ſaith our Adverſary, *and perſuaded the people not to render to him any Obedience.* This was the Rebellion, the moſt horrid of all Rebellions in the eyes of Jeſuits. I enter not into the queſtion

Pag. 73, and 74.

of

of the Popes ſuperiority. My Adverſary keeping himſelf to matter of fact, I muſt keep my ſelf to it alſo.

Luther was a man of an invincible ſpirit; one that ſpared neither King nor Pope, when the truth of God which he announced was oppoſed: And in his expreſſions he was εὐθυρρήμων, one that ſpake down-right without mincing. Yet as ſtout as he was, I find that he behaved himſelf with great modeſty and patience with the Pope for a great while: And in all his Addreſſes to him for redreſs of the horrible abuſes reigning in the Church, he uſed a Chriſtian humility and ſubmiſſion to the Popes pleaſure, if his Holineſs would have hearkned to Conſcience and Reaſon, and remembred the duty of his place. But when the Pope and the great Clergy of *Germany* uſed him with the utmoſt ſcorn and inhumanity, he paid them in the ſame coin. The Pope burnt his *Theſes*, and he burnt the Popes *Decretals* in the Market-place; and writ againſt the higheſt of the *Roman* Clergy in high terms, a crime much exaggerated by our Adverſary. This is all the Rebellion (if they call it ſo) that either *Luther* or the beginning of the Reformation can be charged with. For the Reformation was embraced by many Princes and Imperial Cities ſo freely and ſo quietly, that the Adverſary could find no ground to object any other Rebellion unto them, but that againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, who in effect was neither their Biſhop nor their Prince.

So that which our Adverſary (after others) objects againſt *Luther*, That he exhorted the Emperor, Kings and Princes to *fall upon the Pope and Cardinals, and all the filth of the* Roman *Sodom*, is nothing to the queſtion in hand.

Pag. 24. *Luther in Sylvestrium Pruratem.* Si fures furcâ, si latrones gladio, si hæreticos igne plectimus, cur non magis istos magistros perditionis, hos Cardinales, hos Papas, & totam istam Romanæ Sodomæ colluviem, quæ Ecclesiam Dei sine fine corrumpit, omnibus armis impetimus?

For there *Luther* speaks not of any insurrection of subjects against their lawful Soveraign, but of the justice which the Princes of Christian Provinces ought to exercise against the Tyrants and Corrupters of the Church. He had tryed all means of Piety, Charity, Equity, and Reason. When all would not serve, and that the Pope and the Cardinals would neither Reform the Church nor themselves, nor admit of an Appeal to the Council for that great Work, then *Luther* brake out into these words: *Mihi verò videtur, si ita pergat furor Romanistarum, nullum esse reliquum remedium quàm ut Imperator, Reges & Principes vi & armis accincti, aggrediantur has pestes Orbis terrarum, rémque non jam verbis sed ferro decernant.* That is, *It is my opinion, if the fury of the Romanists continue, that there is no remedy remaining but that the Emperor, Kings, and Princes who are furnisht with force arms, should take these plagues of the world in hand, and decide the quarrel no more with words but with the sword.* And then follow the words written in our margent, which are a continuation of his exhortation to the Higher Powers to make use against them of the Sword of Justice. This is better than to set on private men to stab them, or stir up the Rabble to fall upon them according to the maxims and practice of the Jesuits. But *Luther* went the right way to work, when he exhorted those to whom God had committed the power of the Sword, to make use of it to repress the Tyranny and Oppression both Spiritual and Civil used in their Dominions by a foreign usurped

usurped power; and the rather, because the Emperor and the Princes hae been very earnest with the Pope to remove by his Pastoral care all the causes of complaint.

It is objected against *Luther* and his party, that they entred into a Confederacy of Defensive Arms at *Smalcald*; that *Luther* himself made a Book *contra duo Mandata Cæsaris*, against two Edicts of the Emperor. And that in his Book *de bello contra Turcas*, *he denyed the Emperor to be the Head of the Christian Common-wealth*: But to judg aright of that Confederacy, and of the opinions of the *German* Divines and Lawyers about the Emperor Rights, and of the Wars of that Age between the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire, we must consider the Constitution of the Empire of *Germany*. And to that end look to their *Magna Charta*, which is *Bulla aurea* made under the Emperor CHARLES IV. and *Capitulatio Cæsarea*, Anno 1356. Whereby, if the Emperor or the King of the *Romans* violate any of the Rights of the Subject Established by that Capitulation, It is declared to be lawful for the Electors, Princes, Prelates, Nobles, and Commons, either jointly or severally, to resist them without crime of Rebellion or Infidelity.

Melchior Goldstat. Tom. 3. pag. 424. Quod si nos ipsi (inquit Imperator) quod absit, aut quisquam Successorum nostrorum, quod non speramus, processu temporis aliquo huic nostræ statutioni aut ordinationi contravenire voluerit aut eam retractare, aut alio quovis modo violare præsumpserit, præsentium literarum authoritate & potestatis regiæ plenitudine ex certâ Majestatis nostræ scientiâ, necnon cum consensu & beneplacito præfatorum sacri Romani Imperii Principum Electorum in robur perpetuæ firmitatis sancivimus, ex tunc tam ipsi Electores quàm cæteri Principes, Ecclesiastici & Sæculares, Prælati, Comites, Barones, Nobiles & Communitates sacri nostri Imperiii, universi ac singuli, præsentes & futuri, licitum habeant sine Rebellionis aut Infidelitatis crimine resistendi ac contradicendi nobis & Successoribus nostris Romanorum Regibus vel Imperatoribus in perpetuam libertatem.

Three

Three hundred and fifty years before that, a *German* Pope *Gregory* V. had brought in the Inſtitution of the *Electors*, as the Centuriators of *Magdeburg* report. But *Aventinus* and *Onuphrius* more credibly make it of later date, after the death of *Frederick* II. whom Pope *Innocent* IV. had perſecuted to death; and the Empire being much weakned by the loſs of that great Emperor, to weaken him more yet, either *Innocent* IV. or his Succeſſor *Alexander* III. procured ſeven perpetual Electors, whoſe Intereſt ſhould be to keep always the Emperors low, to keep themſelves high. Since that time the Emperors Authority in many parts of *Germany* is little more than a Title, and a reſpect without power; for the Electors may both Elect and depoſe him. They and the other Princes of the Empire govern their Signories, and pay nothing to him but homage. And the Cities called *Imperial* are they that have the greateſt exemptions from the Imperial Laws. Wherefore the exclamations of the Adverſaries about the reſiſtance of the Elector of *Saxony*, with other Princes of the Empire, and ſome Imperial Cities againſt the Emperor, and about the words of *German* Divines or Juriſts to that purpoſe; are very ignorantly or maliciouſly urged as Rebellious; for neither the words nor the actions of thoſe *Germans* ought to be weighed in the balance of the duty of other Subjects to their abſolute Sovereigns.

Luther who was always very rigid for the ſubjection of every ſoul to the higher powers, and had written a Book expreſly of that ſubject, had much ado to be perſuaded to conſent to a Confederacy of defenſive Arms againſt the Emperor; who being ſet on by the Court of *Rome*, op-

preſſed

pressed the liberties of *Germany*; and to suppress the growing Reformation, took more cognizance of Cases belonging to the jurisdiction of the Princes, and Cities of the Empire, than he was allowed by the Authentical Capitulations, till the learned in the Law satisfied him about the Statutes of his Country, and his Reason and Conscience shewed him, that the Apostle commanding Christians to *submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake*, requireth of them an obedience proportioned to the constitutions of the States, of which they are members. Of that consultation *Sleidan* giveth this account.

Before they made the Confederacy, they called to Counsel not only Jurists, but Divines also. For Luther *had taught always that the Magistrate must not be resisted, and a Book of his concerning that subject was extant. But when in that consultation the learned in Law shewed that it was permitted by the Laws to resist somtimes, and demonstrated that at that time their business was come to that very case, of which the Laws make mention among other things;* Luther *did ingenuously profess that he knew not that it was Lawful: And because the Gospel doth not impugne or abolish the Politick Laws, as he had always taught. Also because, the time being so perillous and full of terror, many things might happen*

Sleidan. Hist. lib. 8. *ad an.* 1531. Priusquam fœdus iniretur, in consilium adhibiti sunt non Juris-consulti modo, sed Theologi quoque. Lutherus enim semper docuerat Magistratui non esse resistendum; & extabat ejus ea de re libellus. Cum autem in hac deliberatione periti juris docerent legibus esse permissum resistere nonnunquam, & nunc in eum casum de quo leges inter alias mentionem faciunt rem esse deductam ostenderent, Lutherus ingenue profitetur se nescivisse hoc licere: Et quia leges Politicas Evangelium non impugnat aut aboleat, uti semper docuerit. Deinde quoniam hoc tempore tam dubio tamque formidoloso multa possint accidere, sic ut non modo jus ipsum sed conscientiæ quoque vis atque necessitas arma nobis porrigat, defensionis causa fœdus iniri posse dicit, sive Cæsar ipse, sive quis alius forte bellum ejus nomine faciat.

which would put the Arms in our hands, not only by the prescript of the Law, but by the force of Conscience and Necessity, he declared his opinion, that a Defensive League might justly be made, whether the Emperor himself, or any other in his name should make War against us.

While they were thus met at *Smalcald*, the Emperor sent Letters to them, not to condemn or dissolve their meeting, as a King of *England* or *France* would have done, for he knew that by the Laws they might meet to look to their common interest without him, yea and against him. But to charge the Protestants to send help against the *Turk*, who was advancing with a great Army towards *Germany*. The Protestants answered, that because the Emperor would grant them no Peace at home, nor suspension of the Decree of Confiscation against their Estates for their Religion, and that they were in daily expectation of proscription and Hostile dealing from him, they could not cut off their own sinews, and lay themselves open to his Hostility to help him against a Foreign Enemy. But if he would make all fiscal proceedings for the matter of Religion to surcease till the time of the promised Council, and grant them peace and safety at home, they would not only assist him against the *Turk* with all their power, but serve him in all the publick interests to which their duty bound them. And this is that Confederacy of *Smalcald* which the Adversary cryeth down as the spring and pattern of Rebellion from that time to our days; how justly, let the equitable Reader judg.

If it be objected, that this abridging of the Emperors power was wrongfully got from him, I will grant it: It

was

was *jus quod cœpit ab injuria*; *a right that begun by wrong*; yet confirmed by the Emperors with Authentical Charters, and ſtrengthned by long preſcription. The Emperor may thank the Popes for it, who having an ancient jealouſie of the Imperial rights in *Italy*, and not able to ſuffer any *King of the Romans*, but themſelves, have powerfully laboured for many ages to break the Emperors power every where. And it was by their practices, that the conſtitution of the Electors and the Golden Bull was made, and thoſe great immunities given to the Princes of the Empire and Imperial Cities, whereby the Emperor is remained a manacled Prince; ſo unable in moſt parts of the Empire to ſtretch his hands upon the meaneſt perſons that trouble him, that he could never ſo much as ſecure *Luther* a poor Monk, though urged to it by the moſt powerful and irreſiſtible ſollicitations of the Court of *Rome*; But *Luther* continued till death (about thirty years) deſtroying the Popes intereſt in *Germany*, and all parts of *Europe*, and neither Pope nor *Cæſar* could touch him. Wonderful are the ways of Gods juſtice, that the Pope by fomenting factions in the Empire, and breaking the Emperors power, did prepare ſafety and facility for his Enemies in the following Ages, to make that great breach in his Kingdom, and give that mortal wound to his power, of which it ſhall bleed till it dye of it.

Againſt the *Helvetian* Reformation the Adverſary ſaith nothing, only he arrayeth *Zuinglius* in a *ſwaggering ſwaſh-buckler habit*, as if he had wrought Reformation with Sword and Buckler; yet it was made quietly by the Preaching of the Goſpel, and began at *Zurick* in the year 1522. When *Zuinglius* was cenſured by the Biſhop

of *Constance* his Ordinary for opposing the *Romish* errors, he set forth *Theses* containing his Doctrine, and the Senate of *Zurick* called together all the Clergy of the *Canton* to confer about Religion, and requested the Bishop to be present, or send some Authorized by him. The Bishop sent *Johannes Faber* his Vicar General, in whose presence the Consul invited all the assistants, if they had any thing to oppose unto the *Theses* of *Zuinglius* that they would spead. And *Zuinglius* having addrest the same invitation to the Vicar in particular, the Vicar answered, that treating of Controversies was not fit for that place, and that it belonged to the Council which should assemble shortly. After that many words had passed between them, when none appeared that had any thing to oppose, the Senate made an Edict, that in all their dominions the Gospel should be purely taught out of the Books of the Old and New Testament, and that human Traditions should be banisht. This was obeyed, and Reformation was Established without either *Sword* or *Buckler*. Neither do I Read that *Zuinglius* was in Arms till eleven years after, that five *Cantons* of contrary Religion suddenly invaded that of *Zurick*, and put *Zurick* men to a necessary but disorderly defense, in which *Zuinglius* was slain. The *Switzers* had Cantoned themselves in in the year 1315. which was 200 years before the Reformation. Were I as unsincere as my Adversary, I should charge the *Roman* Religion which then reigned with that change of State.

From *Zuinglius* the Adversary passeth to *Calvin* as the head of the *French* Reformation, wherein he sheweth his great Ignorance; for the Reformed Religion was spread

ſpread in *France* twenty years before *Calvin* was ſettled in *Geneva*, and well nigh aſſoon as in *Germany*. The beginning of which muſt not be aſcribed to one *Hugo*, whom our Adverſary knows not, nor any body elſe. But the truth is, that it was in *France* long before it was in *Germany*, ever ſince the errors and tyranny of the Court of *Rome* began to be oppoſed by the *Valdenſes*, whoſe relicks after long Perſecutions by Fire and Sword, remained in the Vale of *Cabrieres* and *Marindol* in *Provence*. It was from thence that Reformation was propagated, incouraged by the happy progreſſes of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*. Wherefore the Popes creatures perceiving whence that blow came upon the *Roman* Court, never left ſoliciting *Francis* the I. of *France*, till they got an Edict for the extirpating of them, which was executed with the utmoſt rigour.

And it was not for Religion that they were thus butchered, but merely to make a ſacrifice to the pride and cruelty of *Rome*. For as for their doctrine that excellent King *Lewis* the XII. liked it ſo well, that to ſome that repreſented it to him, and would incenſe him againſt him: He anſwered that they were better Chriſtians than he and his Kingdom.

This was then the true *Origine* of the Reformation of *France*, the doctrine of the *Valdenſes* preſerved in the relicks of their deſcent: a doctrine perfectioned ſince into a more Orthodox Confeſſion, conformable to the Confeſſions of other Proteſtant Churches. So *Calvin* had no hand in that Reformation, and no more had he with that of *Geneva*, or in turning that State into an Ariſtocracy, as this Adverſary upbraids him.

My business being to vindicate Reformation from the charge of Rebellion, I must take from the Reformers of *Geneva* that aspersion, that they expelled their Bishop, that they altered the constitution of that State, and both these ascribed unto *Calvin.* It is a tradition received in *England* for a current & undoubted truth. And upon that ground many fine and judicious inferences are built. But it is like the stories of the Phenix, and the singing of Swans before their death, never the truer for the curious similies and ingenious moralities that have been spun out of that stuff. What credit can we give to Histories of things happened in the *Indies* two thousand years ago, if in things done so lately, and so near us, gross mistakes go for uncontrolable truths? I say it is utterly false that *Calvin* was one of the planters of Reformed Religion at *Geneva.* False also that he or the Reformers of *Geneva* turned their Bishop out of doors. And false also that the Bishop went away upon the quarrel of Religion. *Farel*, *Froment*, and *Viret* were they that wrought under God the conversion of the City by their Sermons, and by a publick conference with the Friars and Clergy of *Geneva*, there being then no Bishop in that Town, who was fled eight moneths before, seeing his conspiracy discovered, to oppress the liberties of the City, by the help of the Duke of *Savoy*, for which his Secretary was hanged after he was gone; the said Bishop being hated before for the Rape of a Virgin, and many Adulteries with Citizens Wives. And it is most to be noted, that they who after his flight reformed the Civil Government, were strong Papists, and mainly opposed the Reformation of the Government, &c. by *John Durel*, *Tonstal*, *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, &c.

Epistola Benedicti Terretini ad Sculteum in Annal. reformationis An. 1529.

See the Book entituled, A view of

Reli-

Religion. To which ſomething like was ſeen in *England*, not far from that time: For the ſame Engliſh Biſhops that moſt earneſtly ſerved *Henry* the VIII. to make him acknowledged the Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, were afterwards the greateſt oppoſers of the work of Reformation, and the fierceſt perſecutors of the Proteſtants.

That the Church Diſcipliue of *Geneva* was conſtituted without a Biſhop, is a matter of another nature: Their Succeſſors that continue it ſo to this day, are of age, let them ſpeak for themſelves. It is enough for my preſent purpoſe that I have vindicated the Introduction of Reformation into that State, from the crime of Rebellion.

As long as their Biſhop lived, they could not have another, and durſt not receive him, being manifeſtly convicted of ſelling the Cities liberty to the Duke of *Savoy*: And when the Biſhop died, they had uſed themſelves to live without a Biſhop.

The firſt proof of our Adverſary to indite the French Reformation of Rebellion, is the enterpriſe of *Amboiſe*, An. 1560. But the Proteſtant Religion had ſubſiſted already forty years in *France* under the croſs: And the Profeſſors of the ſame, though numerous, had never fought for their Religion, but by their conſtancy in aſſerting the truth and ſuffering for it.

The Enterpriſe of *Amboiſe* was a meer quarrel of State, not of Religion; and *Renandie* the Leader was a man moſt averſe from the Proteſtant Religion: The quarrel was this, King *Francis* the II. being about ſixteen years of age, and younger in underſtanding than years, was altogether governed by ſome Lords of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, then

then lookt upon as Strangers, and the Princes of the blood were excluded from the businesses of State. These excluded Princes plotted to surprise the Court at *Amboise*, and remove Strangers from about the Kings person, thinking themselves sufficiently warranted by their quality and interest; that Plot was cried down as Rebellious, because it did not take effect; and being discovered, the House of *Guise* did not fail to make it a matter of High Treason: although the great *Thuanus* depose for the Conspirators, that, *None of them was convicted of any attempt against the King and Queen, but onely against Strangers, who governed all things about the Court in a tyrannical way.* Who so knoweth the interests of the Princes of the blood of *France*, will never call that attempt Treason. And if they could do so much by the right of their Birth, their right was never the worse for their being Protestants.

Thuan. Hist. lib 24. Nullos ex conjuratis convictos fuisse alicujus molitionis in Regem aut Reginam, sed tantum in exteros qui in Aulâ tyrannicè omnia administrabant, nempe Guisianos.

Francis II. being dead soon after, and his Successor *Charls* the IX. being under age, the Princes of the blood had more right than before to claim the management of the publick affairs, being intrusted with them by the Laws of the Kingdom in the Kings minority, at least in conjunction with the Queen Mother. And being excluded from it again, they raised an Army to recover their right. That right is not considered at all by Jesuites, that take upon them now a hundred years after to censure their actions, for these Princes and their followers are represented only as Hereticks and Rebels that made War against their Soveraign.

After

After the King was out of minority, the Princes and their party, ſeeing that the King was much incenſed againſt them, and was of a dangerous and implacable nature, durſt not come near him; and the frequent Maſſacres made them keep themſelves in a poſture of defence, and repel force by force.

To be rid of them at once, the King uſed that famous and unparallell'd treachery of a feigned peace with the Proteſtants, ſealed with the Marriage of his Siſter with the head of their party, the firſt Prince of the blood next to his Brothers, *Henry* King of *Navarre*; and having invited them to the Wedding, he ſlew them in their Beds. The number of the ſlain in cold blood on St. *Bartholomew's* day and ſince, within the ſpace of three months, amounted to about a hundred thouſand. An action publickly commended by the Pope, and the Murtherers rewarded with many ſpiritual graces by his Holineſs.

That the relicks of the party after that general execution, took defenſive Arms, as it is not to be commended, it is not to be wondred at neither: Men are not Angels, and there is nothing more natural than to ſtrive for life.

The Houſe of *Guiſe* having formed the League, pretended for the deſtruction of Hereſie, but intended by them for the pulling down of the Royal Houſe, King *Henry* the III. perceiving this too late, made uſe of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, then the apparent Heir of the Crown, and of his Proteſtant Army, to oppoſe the League.

That King being ſtabbed by a Monk ſoon after, the Head of the Proteſtant party became lawful King, and his Proteſtant Army, the Royal Army: yet their Arms then, though never ſo juſt, were as much condemned by the

the Pope as before, and as much taxed of Rebellion. But that praise cannot be denied to their Arms, that by them, as Gods chief instruments, the Rebellion of the League was defeated, and the lawful King preserved, raised, and setled upon his Throne, whilst the Jesuited Zealots exprest their zeal of Religion, by attempting to stab him, and were too good Catholicks to be good Subjects.

Since our Adversary alledgeth the words of King *James* of blessed and glorious memory, and sets himself forth under the name of *Philanax*, a Lover of the King, he must in duty stand to the judgment of that great and judicious King. This Sentence his Majesty pronounceth of that cause which his Enemy calleth *a most unanswerable Rebellion*, pag. 14. *I never knew yet* (saith the King) *that the French Protestants took Arms against their King. In the first troubles they stood only upon their defence. Before they took Arms, they were burnt and massacred every where; and the quarrel did not begin for Religion, but because when King* Francis *the* II. *was under Age, they had been the refuge of the Princes of the Blood expelled from the Court, even of the Grand-father of the King now reigning, and of that of the Prince of* Conde, *who knew not where to take Sanctuary: For which the present King hath reason to wish them well. It shall not be found that they made any other War; nay, is it not true that King* Henry *the* III. *sent Armies against them, to destroy them; and yet they ran to his help, as soon as they saw him in danger? Is it not true that they saved his life at* Tours, *and delivered him from an extream peril? Is it not true that they never forsook neither him nor his Successour in the midst of the revolt and rebellion of most part of the King-*

Defence of the Right of Kings.

Kingdom, raised by the Pope and the greatest part of his Clergy? Is it not true that they have assisted him in all his Battails, and helped much to raise the Crown again, which was ready to fall? Is it not true that they which persecuted the late King (Henry the IV.) *enjoy this day the fruits of the services done by the Protestants? Who are now maligned not for controversies of Religion, but because that if their advice was followed, the Crown of the French Kings should no more depend on the Pope, there would be no French-man in* France *that is not the Kings Subject; there would be no appeal to* Rome *of beneficial and matrimonial causes, and the Kingdom should be no more tributary under colour of* Annats, *and the like impositions. Even Cardinal* Perron *cleareth them from that imputation* (of Rebellion) *when he saith that the doctrine of the deposition of Kings by the Pope was received in* France *till* Calvin *: He doth then silently acknowledge that Kings were ill served before, and that those whom he calls Hereticks, having brought forth the Holy Scripture to the publick sight, have made the Right of Kings known, which was oppreſt before.* Such a judgment is of great weight, coming from a wise King, who was truly informed of the businesses of his Neighbours: Certainly, *si perito in arte sua credendum est:* If a skilful Artist must be believed when he speaketh within the compass of his Art, none can decide better what Rebellion is, and what is not, than a great Monarch, jealous of the Royal Authority, skilled in the duty of Subjects, and one that had a long strugling with Rebellious Spirits.

This Sentence was pronounced by his Majesty in the year 1615. when *France* had Peace at home and abroad.

Two years after they had the like testimony of their fidelity from their own King, by a Letter of his Majesty written to their Deputies assembled in a Synod at *Vitre*, in these terms: *We have received with good satisfaction, the new assurances and protestations which you have made unto us of your fidelity and obedience: In the which, if you persist as you ought, and as you have done before, you may also be assured that we shall always have a care to maintain and preserve you in all the advantages which have been granted unto you.* These Letters bear the date of *May* 29. 1617. from *Paris*.

Nous avons receu bien volontiers les nouvelles assurances & protestations que vous nous avez faites de vostre fidelité & obeissance; En laquelle persistans comme vous devez & que vous avez fait par le passé, vous pouvez aussi estre assurez que nous aurons tousiours soin de vous maintenir & conserver en tous les avantages qui vous ont esté accordez.

These Letters were Printed and Published with other Declarations.

Cardinal *d' Ossat* speaking to Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, Nephew to *Clement* the VIII. about the execrable murther attempted by *John Chastel* against *Henry* the IV. of *France*, told him, *that if such attempts were allowable, they were more proper to execute for the Hereticks* (so he is pleased to call the Protestants) *whom the King hath left and forsaken, and who have reason to stand in fear of him: and yet they never attempted any such thing, neither against him, nor against any of five Kings, his Predecessors, what slaughter soever they have made of the said Hugenots.* But

Sil y avoit lieu a de tels assassinats ce seroit aux Heretiques a les pourchasser & executer, qu'il a quittez & abandonnez & qui avoyent a se craindre le luy & toutefois ils n'ont rien attenté contre luy ni contre aucun de cinq de nos Roys ses predecesseurs quelque boucherie que leurs Majestez ayent fait desdits Huguenots. *Card. d' Ossat. Epist. 8. a Mr. de Villeroy. Jan. 25. 1595. pag. 77.*

But the greateſt teſtimony of their fidelity, is that famous Edict of *Nantes*, which was expreſly made to reward them with priviledges for their conſtant adhearing to their King, in the long Calamities of *France*.

Seeing then that the French Proteſtants were acknowledged good Subjects by their Soveraign, and have deſerved by their ſignal loyalty and long ſervices to the Crown, thoſe few priviledges which they hardly enjoy; it is evident how unjuſt the ordinary expoſtulation is, That the Roman Catholicks have not the publick allowed exerciſe of Religion in *England*, as the Proteſtants have in *France*. There is great reaſon for that differing dealing. The French Proteſtants have deſerved their Liberty and more, by their conſtant fidelity and valour, having maintained their King with their Purſes, and defended him with their Swords, ſo many years againſt the Jeſuitical party, who had made a League with Strangers to keep him from the Crown, and take away his Life. It is known that the Grandfather of the King now reigning, was ſet upon the Throne by the Swords of his Proteſtant Subjects: Let the Jeſuical party of *England* ſhew the like ſervice to their Soveraign, whereby they deſerve the like recompence. What care did they take of the preſervation of their Sovereigns lives, Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*? How did they defend their Crowns againſt the claim and invaſion of Strangers? Did they further or hinder the return of our gracious King now reigning? If ſome few Roman Catholicks have fought for our glorious King and Martyr *Charles* the I. their whole party fares

the better by it now, and finds the King a grateful Prince, remembring good deeds, and forgetting injuries: Then the difference of their doctrine in point of Government, ought to make a great difference in the allowance of the publick exercise of their Religion. The Jesuited Catholicks acknowledge another Sovereign over their King, both for the Spiritual and the Temporal, a forreign power, which can dispense them of their Allegiance to him. The Protestants acknowledge no Sovereign above their King, and give no jealousie by their doctrine to the Roman Catholick Princes and States, under which they live, as the Jesuits have done, even to Roman Catholicks, by whom they have been expelled out of their Dominions, as Teachers of a doctrine tending to Rebellion.

Of the troubles that followed, whoso will give an impartial judgment, must look upon the condition of the French Protestants since King *Henry* IV. bought his peace with the party of the League by the change of his Religion. That King seeing himself obliged to provide for the safety of his Protestant Subjects, by whose Arms and long Service he had been preserved in his adversities, and finally placed upon the Royal Seat, gave them some places of strength in several Provinces of the Kingdom for certain years; and by an Edict (called the Edict of *Nantes*) the free enjoying of their Estates, and the open exercise of their Religion, with some limitation of places.

Of the priviledges granted them by that Edict, there were many infractions, especially since the death of *Henry* IV. who both by his Authority, and together by his antient interest in the Protestant party, kept all quiet, and preserved them

them from those wrongs to which the weakest are always obnoxious.

The term being expired of the grant of those places, King *Lewis* the XIII. renewed it for four or five years, after which he would have them out of their hands. That they were to be restored upon the Kings demand, was the opinion of grave Protestants, the severest exactors of the obedience of Subjects to the Sovereign; of my Reverend Father especially, who being eminent and respected in the party, was a principal means to keep the Protestant Churches on this side *Loire* in peace and in duty to their King, for which his Majesty sent him a considerable sum of money, which he refused to take, saying, that he could be loyal to his King without being bought.

But the necessity of their keeping those places, seemed to be justified by the reason of the first grant, which was to preserve them from the violence of their bitter Enemies; for (said they) if so many places of safety could not keep us safe from their insolence, what will become of us when we shall lye naked of all defence, and exposed to the will of that party which used us before like Sheep appointed to the Slaughter?

Upon those terms they were when the Assembly of *Rochel* being once licensed by their King, and since forbidden, sate against his will, & took order for a defensive War. Whereupon, my Reverend Father returning from the National Synod of *Alais*, of which he had been President, writ a Letter to them, which I insert here as very pertinent to my purpose.

The Assembly of *Rochel* was not an Ecclesiastick but a Politick Assembly, for those two sorts of Assemblies they were allowed to keep, but now the Ecclesiastick only is allowed.

Gentle-

Gentlemen,

I Do not write to you to pour my Sorrows into your bosom, or to entertain you with my private crosses: upon that I need no comforter, accounting it a great honour, that in the publick affliction of the Church, God would have me to march in the front. And I would account it a great happiness if all the storm should light on my head, so that I were the only Sufferer, and the Church of God should enjoy Peace and Prosperity. A more smarting care hath moved me to write to you, and forced me to go beyond my nature, which was always averse from medling with publick businesses, and from moving out of the sphere of my proper calling. For seeing the general body of the Church in eminent danger, and upon the brink of a dismal precipice, it was not possible for me to keep silence. Nay, I cannot be silent in this urgent necessity, without drawing upon me the guilt of Insensibility and Cruelty towards the Church of God. And I am full of hope, that while I deliver my mind to you about publick businesses, my domestick affliction will free me from jealousies in your opinion. And if I be not believed, at least I shall be excused. Indeed it doth not become me to take upon me to give counsel to an Assembly of Persons chosen out of the whole Kingdom to bear the burden of the publick affairs in a time so full of difficulties; yet I think it useful for you to be truly informed what the sense is, and what the disposition of our Churches by persons that have a particular knowledge of it.

The

The question being then, whether you ought to separate your Assembly to obey his Majesty, or keep together to give order to the affairs of the Churches, I am obliged to tell you, that the general desire of our Churches is, that it may please God to continue our peace in our obedience to his Majesty. And that seeing the King resolved to make himself obeyed by the force of his Arms, they trust, that you will do your best to avoid that storm, and rather yield unto necessity, than to engage them in a War which most certainly will ruine most part of our Churches, and will bring us into a trouble, of which we see the beginning, but can see no end. By obeying the King, you shall take away the pretence used by those that set his Majesty on to prosecute us: and if we must be persecuted, all that fear God, desire that it may be for the profession of the Gospel, and that our persecution may truly be the Cross of Christ. In one word, I can assure you, Gentlemen, that the greatest and best part *of our Churches wisheth for your separation, if it may be with the safety of your persons: yea, that many of the* Roman *Church desiring the publick peace, are continually about us, beseeching and exhorting us that we do not by casting our selves headlong, involve them in the same ruine.*

None could have a more particular knowledge of it, than he who was lately come from the National Synod in the South of *France*, where he made it his business to observe the posture of the affairs of the Protestants.

Hereupon I need not represent unto you how terribly and generally our poor Flocks are frighted and dismayed, casting their eyes upon you as persons that may procure their rest, and by yielding to the present necessity, blow away the storm hanging over their heads. Many already have forsaken the Land, many have forsaken their Religion; whence you may judge what dissipation is like to follow, if this exasperation go on further.

No

No more do I need to recommend unto you to have a tender care of the preservation of our poor Churches, knowing that you would chuse death, rather than to draw that reproach upon you, that you have hastened the persecution of the Church, and destroyed that which the zeal of our Fathers have planted, and that you have put this State in confusion.

I am not ignorant that many reasons are alledged to perswade you to continue your Assembly, they tell you that the King hath granted it; but for that grant of his Majesty you can shew no Warrant, nor any written Declaration, without which all promises are but words in the air: for Kings believe they have power to forbid that which they have permitted, and to revoke that which they have granted, when they judge it expedient for the good of their affairs. Neither is there any of you, after he hath sent his Servant, or given him leave to go to some place, that thinks not that he hath power to call him back. Sovereign Princes especially, are very unwilling to keep their promises, when they have been extorted.

Also great number of grievances and contraventions to the Kings Edicts are represented unto you, which complaints, to our great grief, are too true. But that I may not urge that we have given occasion to many of those evils our own selves, the difficulty lyeth not in representing our griefs, but in finding the remedies. Consider then whether the subsistance of your Assembly can heal all these sores; whether your sitting can give a shelter to our Churches, provide all things necessary for a War where the parties are so unequal, raise Forces, and make a Stock to pay them: Whether all the good that your sitting can pro-

produce can countervail the dissipation of so many Churches which lye open to the wrath of their Enemies: Whether when they are fallen, you can raise them again: Whether in the evident division that is among us, you are able to rally the scattered parts of that divided body, which if it were well united, yet would be too weak to stand upon the defensive.

Pardon me, Gentlemen, if I tell you that you shall not find all our Protestants inclined to obey your resolutions; and that the fire being kindled, all about you shall remain helpless beholders of the ruine which you have drawn on our heads. Neither can it be unknown to you, that many of the best quality among us, and best able to defend us, openly blame our actions, holding and professing, that suffering for this cause, is not suffering for the cause of God. These making no resistance, and opening the gates of their places, or joyning their Arms with the Kings, you may easily judge what loss and what weakening of the party that will be. How many of our Nobility will forsake you, some out of Treachery, some out of weakness? Even they who in an Assembly are most vehement in their Votes, and to shew themselves Zealous, are altogether for violent ways, are very often they that will Revolt and Betray their Brethren. They bring our distressed Churches to the hottest danger, and there leave them, going away after they have set the house on fire. And so it proved.

If there be once Fighting or Besieging of our Towns, whatsoever the issue may be of the Combate or the Siege, all that while it will be hard to keep the People animated against us, from falling upon our Churches, which

 have

have neither retreat nor defence. And what order soever the Magistrates of contrary Religion take about it, they shall never be able to compass it.

I might also represent unto you many reasons out of the state of our Churches, both within and without the Kingdom, to shew you that this stirring of yours is altogether unseasonable, and that you set sail against wind and tyde. But you are clear-sighted enough to see it, and to consider in what posture your Neighbours are, and from whence you may look for help; whether among you the vertue and the concord, and the quality of the heads be grown or diminisht. Certainly this is not the time when the troubling of this Pool can heal our Diseases. And certain it is, that if any thing can help so much weakness, it must be the Zeal of Religion, which in the time of our Fathers hath upholden us, when we had less strength and more vertue. But in this cause you shall find that Zeal languishing, because most of our People *believe that this evil might have been avoided without breach of Conscience. Be ye sure that there will be always disunion among us, every time that we shall stir, for civil causes, and not directly for the cause of the Gospel.*

Against that it is objected that our Enemies have determined our ruin; that they undermine us by little and little; that it is better to begin now, than to stay longer. Truly that man should be void of common sense that doubted of their ill will. And yet when I call to mind our several Losses, as that of Lectoure, Privas, *and* Bern, *I find that we our selves have contributed to them, and it is no wonder that our Enemies take no care to remedy our faults, and that they joyn with us to do*

us

us harm. But hence it follows, not that we must throw the helve after the hatchet, and set our House on fire our selves, because others are resolved to burn it, or take in hand to remedy particular losses by means weak to redress them, but strong and certain to ruin the general. God, who hath so many times diverted the counsels taken for our ruin, hath neither lost his power nor altered his will, We shall find him the same still, if we have the grace to wait for his assistance, not casting our selves headlong by our impatience, or setting our mind obstinately upon impossibilities. Take this for certain, that although our Enemies seek our ruin, they will never undertake it openly, without some pretence other and better than that of Religion, which we must not give them. For if we keep our selves in the obedience which Subjects owe to their Sovereign, you shall see, that while our Enemies hope in vain that we shall make our selves guilty by some disobedience, God will give them some other work, and afford us occasions to shew to his Majesty that we are a body useful to his State, and put him in mind of the signal services that our Churches have done to the late King of glorious memory. But if we are so unfortunate, that while we keep our selves in our duty, the calumnies of our Enemies prevail, at least we shall get this satisfaction that we have kept all the right on our side, and made it appear that we love the Peace of the State.

Notwithstanding all this, Gentlemen, you may and ought to take order for the safety of your persons. For whereas his Majesty and his Council have said often, that if you separate your selves, he will let your Churches enjoy peace, and the benefit of his Edicts, it is not reasonable

that your separation be done with the peril of your persons. And whenever you petition for your safe dissolution, I trust it will be easily obtained, if you make possible requests, and such as the misery of the time, and the present necessity can bear. In the mean while you may advise before you part, what should be done, if notwithstanding your separation, we should be oppreſt, that order your prudence may find, and it is not my part to suggest it unto you.

If by propounding these things unto you, I have exceeded the limits of discretion, you will be pleased to impute it to my zeal for the good and preservation of the Church. And if this advice of mine is rejected, as unworthy of your consideration, this comfort I shall have, that I have discharged my Conscience, and retiring my self into some foreign Countrey, there I will end those few days which I have yet to live, lamenting the loss of the Church, and the destruction of the Temple, for the building whereof, I have laboured with much more courage and fidelity than success. The Lord turn away his Wrath us, direct your Assembly, and preserve your Persons. I rest, &c.

From Sedan, Feb. 12. 1621.

When this Letter was read in the Assembly, some arose immediately and left it: others continued to sit, and by their sitting, turned these Warnings into Prophecies. This Epistle will give to the judicious Reader an insight into the affairs of that time and State; and

and together into the preſent queſtion, which is altogether of fact, whether and how far the *French* Proteſtants may be taxed of diſobedience againſt their Sovereign. For it is juſtified by this relation, that when ſome of them reſiſted, they had the greateſt temptation to it that a juſt fear can preſent unto fleſh and blood; and yet that even then they were diſavowed by the *beſt and the moſt* of their Church, and exhorted to their duty by their Divines, which in points of Conſcience are the repreſentative perſons of a party when they are ſolemnly met; and this was the ſenſe of the National Synod, of which this eminent Divine was Preſident but two moneths before.

Here every wiſe and charitable Chriſtian ſhould lay *David's* doctrine to heart, *Pſal.* 41. 1. אשרי משכיל אל דל *Bleſſed is he that conſiders with intelligence and judgment him that is in a low condition.* It is eaſie for us that enjoy proſperity under a gracious King, to determine the point of paſſive obedience: not ſo for them that groan under the ſad burden of the Croſs. Chriſtian equity ought to pity thoſe that are expoſed to the ſad counſels of terrour and deſpair.

I am not without ſuſpition, that when thoſe places of ſafety were granted to them by *Henry* the IV. their Enemies in the Kings Council ſuggeſted or furthered that grant for their undoing in the time to come; for they might well foreſee, that on the one ſide a wiſe King would not ſuffer long ſuch a Diſeaſe in his own Bowels as a party of his Subjects armed with places of ſecurity againſt him: and that on the other ſide, the party ſo ſecured, would not part with that ſecurity for their Religion,

gion, Liberties, and Lives, without committing such actions as would make them obnoxious to their Sovereigns anger and their ruine.

Three or four years after the rendition of all those places to the King, the Duke of *Montmorancy* raised a party against him in *Languedock*, of which he was Governour, hoping to find the Protestants which are numerous there, prepared Subjects for an Insurrection; yet neither his solicitations, nor the resentment of their sufferings could move them to assist him. But they joyned universally with the King, and did rare Service in a Battel where that Duke was defeated and taken, and with him a Jesuited Bishop. And it is to be noted, that old Marshal *de la Force*, a Protestant, that hardly escaped the Massacre of S. *Bartholomew*, was one of the chief Commanders of the Kings Army.

The Adversary gives a touch of the Wars, begun in *Germany*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, in the year 1619. of which he imputes the whole cause to the Protestants. I undertake not to justifie their errours; I say only, that whoso had looked with an ordinary judgment upon the face of those Countries, as they were then divided and ballanced between the Papist and the Protestant party, might have foretold without a spirit of prophecy, that they should not enjoy a long peace, there being so many free spirits animated to liberty and revenge by the severity of the superstitious house of *Austria* towards their Protestant Subjects.

If *Bethlem Gabor* was a prodigious Man, and a *demi-Turk*, as this man makes him, it is nothing to us: as Religion justifieth no mans faults, no mans faults can condemn

demn Religion. The notion under which I fancy that Man, is, that of a Cannot-ſhot without a Bullet, which makes a great and ſhort crack, and no effect. All that the Adverſary ſaith of his dealing with the *Turks*, ſheweth, that the Proteſtants of *Hungary* were ſo oppreſt by the Emperour, that they wiſht themſelves the *Turks* Subjects. I pray God they do not ſo ſtill, and with them the other Proteſtants belonging to the Emperours hereditary Countries, ſeeing their Brethren that live under the *Turk* enjoy the freedom of their Religion. The ſame reaſon might make the Proteſtants of the Empire ſlow to contribute towards the War againſt the *Turks*; yet I hear they are as forward as any. It is not declaiming againſt them (as the Adverſary doth) but uſing them like Chriſtians, that will make them joyn heartily with the Emperour in that War. The *Spaniſh* branch of the houſe of *Auſtria* hath loſt great part of the *Netherlands* by the inflexibleneſs of *Philip* the II. of *Spain*, to grant liberty of Religion to his Proteſtant Subjects. Let the *German* branch of *Auſtria* which uſeth the like hardneſs, take heed of the like loſs.

The Reformation of Religion in the United Provinces, is that upon which the Adverſary triumpheth moſt, it being very apparent, to his thinking, that they brought it in by ſhaking off the Yoke of the King of *Spain*. But there is great difference between reforming and eſtabliſhing the Reformation. The firſt was done by the Word, the ſecond by the Sword, and the firſt forty years before the ſecond. The Reformed Religion was ſpred over the Seventeen Provinces many years, before there was any thought of making an Union againſt the

the Spaniard; neither was that Union made upon the ſcore of Religion, but of State, for maintaining their Franchiſes againſt the oppreſſion of *Spain*; as it was ſufficiently juſtified by their chuſing of *Francis* Duke of *Alenſon*, a Roman Catholick, for their Prince; which they would never have done, if the Union *had ever marched under the notion of Religion*, as our Adverſary affirmeth, or if the Proteſtants had been the greater number. And that Religion was not that which knit the party, and that there was no ſuch thing in the Articles, it appeared again when ſome Provinces forſook the Union, becauſe the Prince of *Orange* had put Religion among the cauſes of their defenſive War. If then the Union was unjuſt, the injuſtice muſt not be caſt upon Religion, ſince it was not made upon that intereſt; and if it was juſt, it could not become unjuſt, by the acceſſion of the intereſt of Religion, to the other intereſts. So that which way ſoever the Adverſary takes it, the Roman Catholicks bear an equal ſhare with the Proteſtants, in the right and wrong of the cauſe; *Flanders* and *Brabant* were as guilty as *Holland* and *Zealand:* The difference is, that *Flanders* and *Brabant* were beaten to obedience by the Duke of *Parma*, but *Holland* and *Zealand* proved too ſtrong for him. The World beholds with amazement the ſucceſs of that Union, that theſe little Provinces ſhould bring their Prince to be their ſuppliant, that he might be allowed to quit his right over them, and acknowledge them Free States, yea, and to juſtifie their Arms. It is that ſucceſs, not their guilt, that makes our Adverſary ſo vehement againſt them; for

An. 1583.

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for ill Gamesters will be angry when they are losers.

Whether it be out of wilfulness or ignorance, this Gentleman mis-represents that business, speaking of the King of *Spain*, as of an absolute Sovereign of the Low Countries, and of the people, as of meer Subjects. *Philip* the II. was not their *King*, but their *Count*. But it is besides my business, to inquire how the rights of Sovereignty were divided between the Prince and the people, which ought to be known before the case be stated.

I have said something of that in my *Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cœlum.*

If the cause of Religion made the quarrel irreconcileable, *Philip* the II. may thank himself for it. *Strada* the great Friend of the Spaniard, tells us that the Great Council of *Spain* represented to the King, that unless he granted liberty of Conscience to his Subjects of the *Netherlands*, the Countrey would be lost, and the War perpetual; whereupon the King fell on his knees before a Crucifix, and vowed that he would chuse to lose his Dominions, rather than to permit Heresie; so he called the Protestant Religion. If many years after they were offered to be secured for their Religion, as our Adversary saith (which I never heard before) it was too late. It is an equitable motion, and more advantagious for the Roman party than ours, that excesses happening by the ordinary course of humane businesses be not imputed to Religion. Oppression will make Subjects to shake off the Yoke: And the prosperity of their defection keeps them from returning to their former subjection.

pag. 39.

From *Holland* the Adversary saileth into *Scotland*, and objects to us the Maxims of *Knox* and *Buchanan*, and the disorders of that time. Of which I have said enough in the Chapter before.

Of the Work of Reformation in *England*, and the publick actions of that Age upon that interest, he speaks very scornfully; saying, that the *Sect of Wickliff lay Strangled in the Cradle till King* Edward *the VI. his days, when some ends of it were taken up again, and set out with more ostentation than ever, in that Princes minority: and what rare effects of obedience were by that means produced in Queen* Maries *time, who brought them up again to the test, may be easily read in our Chronicles. Wherein it is plain, that in the poor five years of her Reign there was* de facto *more open and violent opposition and Rebellion, made by her own Subjects, than Queen* Elizabeth *had in forty five years; or any Prince before or since the Wicleffian doctrine, till the same smothered fire broke out at last in good King* Charls *his time, to his utter ruine, and the shaking of the very foundation of his Monarchy.* Is this spoken like *a most observant Son, and in every honest mans esteem a Pious, Reverend, and Learned Priest of the Church of* England, as this Author is termed in the Publishers Epistle to the Reader? Certainly a Son and a Priest of the Church of *England* would never have derived from *Wickleff*, but from the Holy Scripture, the Religion of the Church his Mother; nor ascribed to her Religion the cause of the late horrid Rebellion. We see what a Son and Priest of the Church he is, the Tree is known by his Fruit. What better Figs can be

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be gathered from ſuch a Thorn? What better Grapes from ſuch a Bramble? And what is that doctrine of *Wickliffe* which he imputes to the Proteſtants, to the Engliſh eſpecially? *Impios nullum dominium habere, That the Ungodly can have no right of dominion*: Was that the doctrine *ſet out with oſtentation in* Edward *the* VI. *his days?* Or was any of the Proteſtants found tainted with that doctrine, when Queen *Mary* burnt them, which this man calls *bringing them to the teſt?* Sure it was not upon that ground that ſome oppoſitions were made againſt that Queen. It is a wonder that ſhe met with no more, conſidering how her Father had declared by Act of Parliament her Mothers Marriage unlawful, and her ſelf incapable of the Crown, and had miſerably incumbred the Title and Succeſſion of his Children. Pag. 70.

That there was *more open and violent oppoſition* againſt her in her five years Reign, from her own Subjects, than Queen *Elizabeth* had in forty five years; it is, becauſe they that went about to queſtion her Title, went to work plainly above-board; but no ſecret Jeſuitical conſpiracies to ſtab or poyſon her, as againſt Queen *Elizabeth.*

The means ſhe made to reduce her diſſenting Subjects in Religion, when they made no oppoſition againſt her, was to make bon-fires of them. Three hundred of thoſe burnt-offerings ſhe Sacrificed unto God: A far greater number in *her poor five years* than that of the Popiſh Martyrs of diſobedience, ſince the death of that Queen, now above a hundred years. For no Papiſt was executed for his Religion, all for diſobey-

ing the Laws of the Land, and many of them for High Treaſon.

It is known that Queen *Mary* got the Crown by the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants of *Suffolk*, and what recompence ſhe gave them for it. And whereas no fewer than eight Rebellions did riſe in *Henry* the VIII. his days, I find not that the Proteſtants had a hand in any of them. All were raiſed by Papiſts; and upon the ſcore of Popery.

The principal colour of our Adverſaries malice is his deteſtation of the late Rebellion of *England*, and the execrable Murther committed on the ſacred Perſon of our gracious Sovereign. Upon this he makes ſeveral Panegyricks, which are very ill ſorted with his Apology for *Mariana*, and juſtifying of the *Jeſuites* doctrine: Eſpecially ſeeing that thoſe actions were copied out upon their principles. *Felicia tempora quæ te Moribus admorunt.* Belike the curious pens of the Wiſe States-men and Learned Scholars of *England*, had need to be ſupplyed by the boyiſh theams of a petty Novice of *Doway*, to learn the duty of Subjects, and to abhor the guiltineſs of Rebellion.

The Venom that lieth under that oratory of Invectives, is that all the miſchief is imputed to the *Proteſtants of Integrity*, a term which he uſeth like a Stirrup-leather, longer or ſhorter, according to his occaſions, yet always treacherouſly to caſt the faults of ſome particular perſon, or ſome heretical Sect upon the generality of the Proteſtants. But let him know, that the King, the Church, and the State, are

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Protestants of Integrity : and that the parricides and troublers of our *Israel* will never give him thanks for calling them *Protestants :* Also that we acknowledge them not for such, unless it be upon a new score, because they *protest* against the Kings power and the duty of their obedience.

When Jesuites or their Scholars, (as this Gentleman is) charge our Fanaticks with High Treason, they do but act that which they had prepared to do, if the Powder-Plot had taken. For they had a Declaration ready to indite the Protestants of that Treason. For these men would stun the just clamor against them for their doctrine of Rebellion and parricide, by laying the same charge with loud words upon others.

We have great reason to call upon the Justice of God and Men to condemn the unsincerity of this clamour. With what face or conscience can the Jesuites pass a hard Sentence upon the late Rebels and King-killers, seeing that these furious Zealots have neither taught nor done any thing in that horrible defection, but what they had learned of the Jesuites? For what do they blame them for?

Is it for teaching that the Sovereign Power lieth in the Commons, and that they may alter the Government of a State? Did they not learn that of *Bellarmine? The Power* (saith he) *is in the whole multitude, as in its subject, and if there be a lawful cause for it, the multitude may alter the Royal State into an Aristocracy, or Democracy, and so on the contrary.*

Bellarm. de Laicis. lib. 3. cap. 6.
Potestas immediate est tanquam in subjecto in tota multitudine, & si causa legitima adsit, potest multitudo mutare regnum in Aristocratiam, aut Democratiam, & è contrario.

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Is it for saying that the people makes the King, and may unmake him, and retain still the habit of power? Did they not learn of the same *Bellarmine*, that, *In the Kingdoms of men, the Kings power is from the People, because the People makes the King. And in temporal Common-wealths, if the King degenerate into a Tyrant, though he be the head of the Kingdom, he may be deposed by the People, and another elected.* And doth he not praise *Navarrus* for saying, that *the People never so transfer their power to the King, but they retain it in the habit; so that in some cases they may resume it.*

Bellarm. de Concil. lib. 2. cap. 19. In regnis hominum potestas Regis est à populo, quia populus facit Regem.

Ibid. cap. 10. sect. ad alteram. In Rebusp. temporalibus si Rex degeneret in tyrannum, licet caput sit Regni, tamen à populo potest deponi & eligi alius. Et *Recogn. lib. de Laicis sect. Aldo experientiam*, laudat Navarrum qui non dubitat affirmare nunquam populum ita potestatem suam in Regem transferre, quin illam sibi in habitu retineat; ut in certis quibusdam casibus etiam actu recipere possit.

Is it for saying that the Commonwealth may take defensive Arms against the King, and expel him? The Jesuite *Suarez* taught them that doctrine. *The Common-wealth* (saith he) *considered in her meer nature, and as it was among the Gentiles, and as it is now among the Pagans, hath the power to defend her self against a Tyrant. If a lawful King govern Tyrannically, and that there be no other remedy for the Kingdom, but to expel and depose the King, the whole Common-wealth by the publick and common consent of the Cities and the Peers, may depose the King.*

Suarez. Defens. Fid. lib. 6. c. 19. sect. 17. Resp. ex sola rei natura spectatam prout fuit apud Gentiles & nunc est inter Ethnicos habet potestatem se defendendi à Tyranno Rege. & *sect.* 15. Si Rex legitimus tyrannice gubernat & regno nullum aliud sit remedium nisi Regem expellere & deponere, poterit Resp. toto publico & communi consensu civitatum & procerum Regem deponere.

Or

Or do the Jesuites inveigh against them for making a formal and aggressive War against the King? They have no reason for it, seeing that the Jesuite *Mariana* hath set them down the whole course which they have followed. *The readiest and the safest way* (saith he) *if the people may meet in a publick Assembly, is to deliberate by common consent what is to be done, and then to keep inviolably that which is agreed on by common-consent. The Prince must first be admonish'd and exhorted to mend: But if he refuse the remedy, and there be no hope of his mending, the sentence being once pronounced* (against him) *it will be lawful for the Common-wealth to refuse to obey him. And because a War must necessarily follow, the counsels how to maintain it must be set down, Arms must be quickly provided, and Taxes laid upon the People, to bear the expences of the War. And if it be requisite, and the Common-wealth cannot otherwise maintain it self, it shall be lawful, both by the right of defence, and more by the Authority proper* (to the people) *to declare publickly the King to be the common Enemy, and then kill him with the Sword.*

Mariana lib. 6. de Regi, cap. 6. pag. 59. & 60.

Expedita maximè & tuta via est, si publici conventus facultas detur, communi consensu quid statuendum sit deliberare, fixum ratumque habere quod communi sententia steterit. Monendus in primis Princeps erit atque ad sanitatem revocandus, *&c.* Qui si medicinam respuat, neque spes ulla sanitatis relinquatur, sententia pronuntiata licebit Reip. ejus imperium detrectare primum, & quoniam bellum necessario concitabitur, ejus defendendi consilia explicare, expedire arma, pecunias in belli sumptus imperare populis: & si res feret neque aliter s. Resp. tueri possit, eodem defensionis jure, ac vero potiori authoritate & propria Principem publice hostem declaratum ferro perimere.

Do the Jesuites look with horrour upon that Court of Justice erected to try the King? Let them remember that they had *Mariana*'s warrant for it. *That the Common-wealth from which the Royal Power hath its*

origin,

Mariana ibid. Certe à Rep. unde ortum habet regia potestas rebus exigentibus Regem in jus vocari posse, & si sanitatem respuat, Principatu spoliari. Neque ita in Principem jura potestatis transtulit, ut non sibi majorem reservarit potestatem.

original, may when the case requires it, bring the King to Judgement, deprive him of his Sovereignty: For the Common-wealth hath not so transferred the right of power unto the Prince, but it hath reserved a greater power to it self.

And why doth our Adversary, an earnest defender of the Jesuites, exclaim so much against the abominable parricide acted upon our Sacred Sovereign, seeing that the people which made War against him, held him to be a Tyrant, and it is the current opinion of the Jesuites, that a Tyrant may be killed by any private man. *A true Prince* (saith *Lessius*) *who is a Tyrant by reason of his administration, cannot be killed by a private person as long as he remaineth a Prince,--------but he must be first deposed and declared Enemy by the Common-wealth, or the Parliament of the Kingdom, or some other, having Authority, that it may be lawful to attempt any thing against his person.* And *Suarez* saith to the same purpose, that *after the Sentence given* (against a King) *he is altogether deprived of his Kingdom, so that he can no more possess it with a just Title. Wherefore from henceforth he may be used like a Tyrant, and killed by any private person.*

Lessius lib. 2. de Justitia & Jure cap. 9. dubio 4. scribit,

Verum Principem qui tyrannus est ratione administrationis non posse à privatis interimi quamdiu manet Princeps, -- primum à Repub. vel comitiis Regni vel alio habente authoritatem esse deponendum, & hostem declarandum, ut in ipsius personam liceat quicquam attentare.

Suarez contra Regem Mag. Brit. lib. 6. cap. 4. sect. 14.

Post sententiam latam omnino privatur regno, ita ut non possit justo titulo illud possidere; ergo ex tunc poterit tanquam tyrannus tractari, & consequenter à quocunque privato poterit interfici.

Nei-

Neither ought the Jesuites to find fault with the publick thanksgiving for murthering the King, and making of the thirtieth of *January* a Thanksgiving Day, seeing that the Jesuites of *Paris* shewed the way for that to the Rebels in *England*, for in the time of the *French* League, they made Solemn Thanksgivings for the murthering of their King, as Pope *Sixtus* the V. did since at *Rome*, with a vehement Oration, in which he applieth a Prophesie of the Incarnation of the Son of God unto that Kings Murther.

So much the late Rebels of *England* have learned of you, Fathers Jesuites, and no reason have you to chide your Scholars for following your Doctrine and Example, how far you are yet before them, I will shew before I have done with you. For they do not make the Crown of their Kings obnoxious to be kickt down by the Pope, and have learned no farther of your maxims, than will serve them to kill the King, and keep the Crown for themselves. And by their gross dealing with their King, beheading him upon a Scaffold, whereby they have spun a Halter for their own Necks, they have shewed themselves not skilled in the mysteries of King-killing, set forth by your *Mariana*, how to put a King to death with less danger to the Actors, than to stab him, will have him taken away by poyson. Yet so merciful he is to such a King, that lest he should be accessary to his own death, by taking the poison himself in his meat or drink,

Mariana lib. 1. *cap.* 7. Hoc temperamento uti in hac quidem disputatione licebit, si non ipse qui perimitur venenum haurire cogitur quo intimis medullis concepto pereat: sed exterius ab alio adhibeatur, nihil adjuvante eo qui perimendus est. Nimirum cum tanta vis est veneni in sella eo, aut veste delibuta, ut vim interficiendi habeat. Qua arte à Mauris Regibus invenio sæpe alios Principes missis donis, veste pretiosa, linteis, armis, ephippiis, fuisse oppressos.

drink, he will have a strong and subtile poison put in a garment or saddle, which may spread its mortiferous quality into his body. And for that he propounds the example of *Moor* Kings who have killed their enemies with poisoned presents. These Jesuitical curiosities about a murther are too fine for our *Northern* Fanaticks; but for going so far with you as they have done, you have reason to cherish them.

When the businesses of the late bad times are once ripe for an History, and time the bringer of truth hath discovered the mysteries of iniquity, and the depths of Satan which have wrought so much crime and mischief, it will be found, that the late Rebellion was raised and fostered by the arts of the Court of *Rome*. That Jesuites professed themselves Independent, as not depending on the Church of *England*; and Fifth-Monarchy-men, that they might pull down the *English* Monarchy, and that in the Committees, for the destruction of the King and the Church, they had their Spies and their Agents. The *Roman* Priest and Confessor is known, who when he saw the fatal stroke given to our Holy King and Martyr, flourished with his Sword, and said, *Now the greatest enemy that we have in the world is gone.*

When the news of that horrible execution came to *Roan*, a Protestant Gentleman of good credit was present in a great company of Jesuited persons: where after great expressions of joy, the gravest of the company, to whom all gave ear, spake much after this sort: *The King of* England *at his Marriage had promis'd us the re-establishing of the Catholick Religion in* England; *and when he delayed to fulfil his promise, we sum-*

Which is most false.

summoned him from time to time to perform it: We came so far as to tell him, that if he would not do it, we should be forced to take those courses which would bring him to his destruction. We have given him lawful warning, and when no warning would serve, we have kept our word to him, since he would not keep his word to us.

That grave Rabbies sentence agreeth with this certain intelligence which shall be justified whensoever Authority will require it: That the year before the Kings death, a select number of *English* Jesuites were sent from their whole party in *England*; first to *Paris*, to consult with the Faculty of *Sorbon*, then altogether Jesuited; to whom they put this question in writing: That seeing the State of *England* was in a likely posture to change Government, whether it was lawful for the Catholicks to work that change, for the advancing and securing of the Catholick Cause in *England*, by making away the King, whom there was no hope to turn from his Heresie? Which was answered affirmatively. After which the same persons went to *Rome*, where the same question being propounded and debated, it was concluded by the Pope and his Council, that it was both lawful and expedient for the Catholicks to promote that alteration of State. What followed that Consultation and Sentence, all the World knoweth, and how the Jesuites went to work, God knoweth; and Time the bringer forth of truth, will let us know. But when the horrible parricide committed in the Kings Sacred Person, was so universally cried down as the greatest villany that had been

committed in many ages, the Pope commanded all the papers about that question to be gathered and burnt: In obedience to which order, a *Roman* Catholick in *Paris* was demanded a Copy which he had of those papers; but the Gentleman who had had time to consider and detest the wickedness of that project, refused to give it, and shewed it to a Protestant friend of his; and related to him the whole carriage of this negotiation, with great abhorrency of the practices of the Jesuites.

At the first appearing of that charge it strook such a terror among the Gentlemen of *Sommerset*-House (where a man of great note was much concerned in it) that they cast themselves at the Kings feet to crave Justice against me, yet upon another pretence, which was the mention I had made, (after Mr. *Prynne* and Mr. *Foulis*) of the Priest flourishing with his Sword when the Kings head was cut off, and saying, *Now our greatest enemy is cut off.* But upon soberer thoughts, after three or four days the great clamour was suddenly husht. Only they won the Queen Mother to beseech the King that I might be forbidden to make any more Books. So much then was exprest unto me in a Letter of the Secretary of State, yet in a Gracious Counselling way from my Great and Good Master, who honored me with his good will, and would not discredit me, much less my Cause, as representing to me that it was my wiser course to forbear writing Books in *English*, because it was not my Natural Language.

This prohibition was taken away upon my petition when I put the same Book to be Printed again in the Year 1668.

Who

Who seeth not the violent distraction of those guilty persons between anger and fear, and how when they were the most fervent to fall upon me, they were cowed by their guiltiness!

I suppose so much of their prudence, that after they had put a stop to my Pen, they had taken order among themselves, that none should provoke me by writing against me to write again: For I heard nothing of them for five or six years, till a young Nobleman the Earl of *Castlemain*, who had not taken Counsel of the grave heads, took the Field against me, as a Perdue of the *Roman* Army. Mr. *Cressy* seeing the Ice broken, thought himself bound to go after him, and after Mr. *Cressy* a Priest Preaching out of a Coffee-house.

To these my Lord of *Castlemain* added in his Third Edition, that I was defied by the Papists, and solicited by the Protestants to make my words good; and he said true.

As for my being defied by the Papists, I have defied them now seventeen years to call me in question before our Judges, and so I do still.

If they say that by the Laws of the Land which suppress Popish Priests and Jesuites, they dare not appear, they have not wanted since great and noble friends, who might take their interest to themselves, and call me to account before Authority for wronging their Spiritual Fathers. Had the like charge been laid in *France* upon Protestant Ministers, as friendless as they are in that Court, they would not have lien one day under it, without making their way to a publick redress.

But

But these men, instead of calling their accuser to bring forth his proofs, labour to silence him; and choose to lie, now seventeen years, silent under that guilt; instead of taking the open legal way for their justification. Certainly in the judgment of all persons that have but common sense, they own their guilt by their silence.

As for the solicitations of Protestants, I acknowledg that divers persons of great concernment, some of them of great Place, have exprest to me a great desire that I should discover the whole Plot.

To quell their expectation I do ingenuously profess that I have set down the whole matter as far as I know, nothing wanting to it but the witnesses.

I have also an humble request to those persons of great Merit, among whom I set in the first rank that Eminent Divine, the Right Reverend Dr. *Barlow*, Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, who in his late excellent Book is pleased to grace me with expressions of esteem far above my deserts, which I take as a lesson from my Superiors, for me to labour to be what they charge me to be.

My request is that they be pleased to consider the first line of my Charge against our Adversaries.

This certain intelligence shall be justified whensoever Authority shall require it.

So that I cannot in Duty and Conscience bring forth the most pertinent and essential Testimonies before I be *bidden by Authority*. Should I do otherwise, divulging my proofs, the fault would be as great in point of prudence as in point of duty, for I should thereby make many of my Adversaries to be my Judges, who might detort

detort the Testimonies. A matter of that high nature must not be squabled out between private interessed persons, but pondered by those grave men in Power that have the decisive voice. I will then stand to this resolution to answer no Summons, but such as are backt by Publick Authority.

To give some satisfaction to those Loyal hearts, in whom so much as I have said hath bred a desire to know more, I will set down here a Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of State who waited then at the Court when the Papists Officers and Clergy of the Queen Mother were in their greatest consternation, at the first coming forth of my Charge against their Party, I may say also against themselves, for the chief of them was deep in the guilt. The Secretary of State was that Eminent Gentleman in Piety, Learning and Wisdom, Sir *William Morrice*, now with God. It was by him that His Majesties pleasure was signified to me in a Letter that I should forbear writing *English* Books. That Letter being mislaied, I writ to him some years after he was retired from the Court to his House, and besought him to send me a confirmation of that passage, and withal some Idea of the behaviour of those Papists at that time. And he was pleased to honor me with this answer.

For

For my Honored Friend Dr. Peter Du Moulin.

Wherington, Aug.
the 9. 1673.

SIR,

I Have received yours of the 17. of the last Month. I have so much honour for your self and your extraction, that I should be very ready and glad to serve you in any thing wherein occasion shall prompt, and my powers capacitate me. Though I cannot give attestation to all the circumstances which you mention (the common vogue at that time being not a Fond sufficient to build upon) yet to the substance of that you desire me to bear witness to, I shall say, that the King my Master gave me his Command, soon upon the coming forth of your Answer to Philanax Anglicus, *to signifie His pleasure that you should write no more in* English, *as which being not vernacular to you, he said you were not perfect Master. He was not pleased to give me any further reason of His Commands; and it was not decent for me to inquire, but rather to obey. And it doth as little become me to speak my conjectures or to make any collections or inferences out of what fell from him beyond what was given me in charge. You know in what Trust and Capacity I served His Majesty; and what it was my duty to say, and whereof to be silent. But this I may say safely, and will do it confidently, that many arguments did create a violent suspicion, very near convincing evidences, that the irreligion of the Papists was chiefly guilty of the Murther of that Excellent Prince, the* Odium *whereof they would now*

now file to the account of the Protestant Religion. I applaud Your pious Zeal, and good designs, and vote happy success to Your undertakings with reward proportionable; which You may never fail of, first or last, in the way or in the terme. And I shall justly pay You all the Honour possible for

Your very humble Servant,

WILL. MORRICE.

Mr. *Prynnes* intelligence confirmed mine. He saith that our late excellent King having assented in the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight* to pass five strict Bills against Popery, the Jesuites in *France*, at a General Meeting there, presently resolved to bring him to Justice and take off his Head, by the power of their Friends in the Army; as the King himself was certified by an express from thence, and wished to provide against it, but two days before his removal by the Army from the Isle of *Wight* to his Execution.

True and perfect Narrative, p. 46.

It were worth enquiring upon what ground the Author of *The fair Warning* affirmeth, that Father *Sibthorp* in a Letter to Father *Metcalfe*, acknowledgeth the Jesuits to have contrived the Murther of the King. And that *Sarabras* was present and triumphing at the Murther of His Sacred Majesty.

Pag. 35, 36, 37. in the 2d. part of 110. Prophecies concerning the return of *Popery*.

In pursuance of this Order from *Rome*, for the pulling down both the Monarch and the Monarchy of *England*, many Jesuites came over, who took several shapes, to go about their work, but most of them took party in the Army. About thirty of them, or their Disciples, were

met by a Protestant Gentleman, between *Roan* and *Diepe*, to whom they said (taking him for one of their party) that they were going into *England*, and would take Armes in the Independant Army, and endeavour to be Agitators.

A Protestant Lady living in *Paris* in the time of our late calamities, was perswaded by a Jesuit going in Scarlet, to turn Roman Catholick: When the dismal news of the Kings Murther came to *Paris*, this Lady, as all other good English Subjects, was most deeply afflicted with it. And when this Scarlet Divine came to see her, and found her melting in tears, about that heavy and common disaster; he told her with a smiling countenance, that she had no reason to lament, but rather to rejoyce, seeing that the Catholicks were rid of their greatest enemy, and that the Catholick Cause was much furthered by his death. Upon which the Lady in great anger put the man down the stairs: saying, If that be your Religion, I have done with it for ever. And God hath given her the grace to make her word good hitherto.

Many intelligent Travellers can tell of the great joy among the English Convents and Seminaries, about the Kings death, as having overcome their enemy, and done their main work for their settlement in *England*; of which they made themselves so sure, that the *Benedictins* were in great care that the Jesuites should not get their land: and the English Nuns were contending who should be Abbesses in *England*.

An understanding Gentleman visiting the Friars of *Dunkirke*, put them upon the discourse of the Kings death,

death, and to pump out their sense about it, said that the Jesuites had laboured very much, to compass that great work: To which they answered, that the Jesuites would engross to themselves the glory of all great and good works, and of this among other works; whereas they had laboured as diligently and effectually for it as they. So there was striving for the glory of that atchievment, and the Friars shewed themselves as much Jesuited as the Jesuites.

The same Gentleman who in his travels hath conversed with many Friars, hath found in several places the Friars jealous of the Glory which the Jesuites ascribed to their only Order, to have promoted the King of *Englands* death; whereas other Orders had been as active as they in that great atchievment.

In the height of *Olivers* Tyranny, *Thomas White* Gentleman, a Priest, and a right Jesuite in all his principles about obedience, set out a Book entituled, the *Grounds of Obedience and Government*: Wherein he maintains that, *If the people by any circumstance be devolved to the State of Anarchy, their promise made* (to their expelled Governour) *binds no more. That the people are remitted by the evil managing and insufficiency of their Governour, to the force of Nature to provide for themselves, and not bound by any promise made to their Governour. That the Magistrate by his miscarriages abdicateth himself from being a Magistrate, and proveth a Brigand or Robber instead of a Defender.* That word *Defender* he writes with a great D. that the Reader may take notice whom he means.

pag. 122.

pag. 123, & 124.

pag. 133. *If the Magistrate* (saith he) *have truly deserved to be dispossessed, or if he be rationally doubted, that he hath deserved it, and be actually out of possession; In the former case, it is certain the subject hath no Obligation to hazard for his restitution, but rather to hinder it: For since it is the common good that both the Magistrate and the Subject are to aim at, and clearly out of what is exprest, it is the common harm to admit again of such a Magistrate, every*
pag. 135. *one to his power is bound to resist him. The next case is, if he be innocent, and wrongfully deposed, may let us add, One who had governed well, and deserved much of the Commonwealth, yet is he totally dispossessed: And so that it is plain in these circumstances, It were better for the Common good to stay as they are, than to venture the restoring him, because of the publick hazard.*

And not to set down all his words, and follow his style, which is affectedly intricate and obscure, he maintaineth that a dispossessed Prince, whether by right or
pag. 136. wrong, *is obliged absolutely to renounce all Right and Claim to Government; and if he does not, he is worse than an Infidel.*

pag. 151. He tells us, That Pope *Urban the VIII. published a Decision, That after five years quiet possession of an Estate, the Church was not bound to take notice whether the Title were lawful or no, but acknowledge the Possessor in Ecclesiastical business.*

pag. 154. That when the *peoples good stands on the Possessors side, then clearly he begins to gain right and power.* That when the *people think themselves well, they manifestly consent to the present Government. Besides* (saith he) *who can assure they shall be better by the return of the dispossessed party?*

party? Surely by common presumption the gainer is like to defend them better than he who lost it. He comes so far as to conclude, That if the old Magistrate offer to return, he must be repulsed by force of Arms. His reasoning is this: *What if an open enemy should come; could or ought the subjects joyn against him with their new Magistrate? If not, the whole Publick must perish: If they may, then their case is the same against their old Magistrate, since his right stood upon the common Peace; and that transferred from him to his Rival by the Title of quiet possession.* pag. 157.

This was the Philosophy of that contemplative Gentleman, when the King lived in exile, and *Oliver* sate on the Throne. Having so well deserved of the King, he was not long since highly recommended to His Majesty, by a man of great Note. But the King who hath a Royal Insight into persons and businesses, stopt him with this short answer, *No more of that, I know what man he is.*

Father *Bret* was of M. *Whites* opinion, for the Castle of *Jersey* being surrendred after that resistance, which for the length of standing out, and the height of Valour shall be memorable in all ages: When the Gentlemen who had defended it were prest to take the Engagement, contrary to the Articles of their Rendition: That goodly Divine was very earnest with them at S. *Malo* to take it; maintaining, That they were not to acknowledge any Supreme but the prevailing power.

When his Majesty cast himself upon the Spaniard, the Jesuitical party thought they had him sure enough from ever returning: but God disappointed their hopes, and deceived our fears by his miraculous mercy: For it was the

the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes, that he scaped out of those hands.

I cannot leave un-observed, That in the height of the late Tyrannie, two heads of the Gun-powder Traytors that were set up upon the House of Lords, were taken down; not by the high winds, but by the same zeal which had plotted that Treason, and with the leave of Traytors of another feather. We may hear in time that those holy Reliques are shrined up in gold, and are working miracles.

CHAP. III.

The Doctrine of the Protestant Churches about the Obedience of Subjects to the Higher Powers, as it is set down in the Publick Confessions of the several National Churches.

TO ease the search of those that would know what the Protestant Churches hold in the point of obedience to the Magistrate: And that some pickt periods out of private Authors unfaithfully alledged by their Adversaries be not taken for the Doctrine of their party, I have set down here their publick Confessions in that point. For whether some of those allegations be true or false, their word must not be taken for the opinion of their Church, before that of the General Confession.

The

The Augustan Confession.

Article XVI. *sub finem.*

CHristiani necessario debent obedire præsentibus Magistratibus ac legibus, nisi quum jubent peccare. Tunc enim magis debent obedire Deo quam hominibus. Act. 4.

CHristians must necessarily obey the present Magistrates and Laws, but when they command to sin. For then they must obey God rather than men. *Act.* 4.

The French Confession.

Article XXXIX.

DEus gladium in Magistratuum manus tradidit reprimendis nimirum delictis, non modo contra secundam Tabulam sed etiam contra primam commissis. Oportet igitur propter illum hujus ordinis authorem non tantum pati ut ii dominentur, quos ille nobis præfecit, sed etiam omni

GOD hath put the sword in the Magistrates hands to repress offences, not only against the Second Table, but also against the First. We ought therefore for his sake, who is the Author of this order, not only to suffer those to govern whom God hath set over us,

omni honore & reverentia eos prosequi, tanquam ejus Legatos & Ministros ad legitimum & sanctum munus obeundum ab ipso designatos.

us, but also yield to them honour and all respect, as to his Lieutenants and Ministers, appointed by him to bear a lawful and holy Office.

Article XL.

AFfirmamus ergo parendum esse legibus & statutis, solvenda tributa & reliqua onera perferenda; subjectionis denique jugum voluntarie tolerandum, etiamsi infidelis fuerit Magistratus, dummodo Dei summum imperium integrum & illibatum maneat.

WE maintain then that we ought to obey laws and statutes, pay tributes, and bear other burdens of subjection, and undergo the yoke with a good will, although the Magistrates should be Infidels, so that Gods Sovereign Authority remain entire & inviolate.

The Belgick Confession.

CUncti homines cujuscunque sint vel dignitatis, vel conditionis, vel status, legitimis Magistratibus subjici debent, illisque vectigalia ac tributa pendere, & eis in omnibus

ALl men of what dignity, quality or state soever they be, must subject themselves unto the lawful Magistrates, pay unto them imposts and tributes, and please

omnibus obſequi ac obedire quæ verbo Dei non repugnant: preces etiam pro eis fundere, ut eos Deus in omnibus ipſorum actionibus dirigere dignetur, nos vero vitam tranquillam & quietam ſub ipſis cum omni pietate & honeſtate ducere poſſimus.

pleaſe and obey them in all things that are not repugnant unto the Word of God: Alſo pray for them, that God be pleaſed to direct them in all their actions, and that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life under them, in all piety and honeſty.

The Helvetick Confeſſion.

Sicut Deus ſalutem populi ſui operari vult per Magiſtratum quem mundo veluti patrem dedit, ita ſubditi omnes hoc Dei beneficium in Magiſtratu agnoſcere jubentur. Honorent ergo & revereantur Magiſtratum tanquam Dei Miniſtrum. Ament eum, faveant ei, & orent pro illo tanquam pro patre. Obediant item omnibus ejus juſtis & æquis mandatis. Denique pendant vectigalia atque tributa, & quæ alia hujus generis debita ſunt, fide-

AS God will work the ſafety of his People by the Magiſtrate, whom he hath given to the World as a Father, ſo all ſubjects are commanded to acknowledge that benefit in the Magiſtrate. Let them honour and reverence the Magiſtrate as the Miniſter of God. Let them love and aſſiſt him, and pray for him as their Father. Let them obey him in all his juſt and equitable commands. And let them pay all impoſts and tri-

fideliter atque libenter. Et si salus publica patriæ & justitia requirat, & Magistratus ex necessitate bellum suscipiat, deponant etiam vitam & fundant sanguinem pro salute publica Magistratusque, & quidem in Dei nomine, libenter, fortiter & alacriter. Qui enim Magistratui se opponit, iram gravem Dei in se provocat.

tributes, and all other dues of that kind, faithfully and willingly. And if the publick safety of the Countrey and Justice require it, and that the Magistrate undertake a War by necessity; let them also lay down their lives, and spill their blood for the good of the publick and of the Magistrate, and that in the Name of God; willingly, valiantly, and chearfully. For he that opposeth himself to the Magistrate, provoketh the heavy wrath of God upon himself.

The Bohemian Confession.

VNiversi & singuli in omnibus quæ Deo tantum non sunt contraria, eminenti potestati subjectionem præstent; primum Regiæ Majestati, postea omnibus Magistratibus & qui cum potestate sunt, in quibuscunque muneribus sint collocati, sive

LEt all and every one yield subjection in all things that are no ways contrary to God, unto the higher power; first to the Kings Majesty, and next to all Magistrates and those that are in Authority, in what Offices soever they be placed, whether

sive ipsi per se boni viri sint sive mali; itemque omnibus Administris & Legatis horum, & ut eos revereantur, colant, & quæcunque eis jure debentur ea omnia ut præstent, etiam honorem eis, tributum, vectigal, similia alia ad quæ pendenda obligantur ut præstent & pendant.

ther the men be good or bad; as also to all their Officers & Deputies. And let them defer unto them all honour, and perform all things which are due unto them by right; let them pay unto them also the homage, Imposts, tribute, and the like, which they are obliged to pay and perform.

The Saxonick Confession.

Magistratui Politico subditi debent obedientiam sicut Paulus (docet) *Rom.* 13. *Non solum propter iram, id est metu pœnæ corporalis, quæ afficiuntur contumaces ab ipsis Magistratibus, sed etiam propter conscientiam, id est contumacia est peccatum offendens Deum & avellens conscientiam à Deo.*

Subjects owe obedience to the Politick Magistrate, as S. *Paul* teacheth, *Rom.* 13. not only for wrath, that is for fear of the corporal punishment which the Magistrates inflict upon the disobedient, but also for conscience sake; that is, disobedience is a sin offending God, and separating the conscience from God.

The Suevick Confession.

NOstri Ecclesiastæ obedientiæ quæ exhibetur Magistratibus inter primi ordinis bona opera locum dederunt, docentes hoc unumquemque studiosius sese accommodare publicis legibus quo sincerior fuerit Christianus, fideque ditior. Juxta docent fungi Magistratu, munus esse sacratissimum quod quidem homini contingere possit. Unde & factum sit quod qui gerunt publicam potestatem, Dii in Scripturis vocentur.

OUr Divines have placed the obedience which is done to the Magistrates, among the good works of the first rank, teaching that the more a Christian is sincere and rich in faith, the more careful ought he to be to subject himself unto the publick Laws. They likewise teach that to be a Magistrate, is the most Sacred Office that a man may have. Whence also it cometh, that they that bear a publick Authority, are called Gods in the Scriptures.

After all these, the English Confession shall speak last, to give the Sentence; as the Apostle St. *James* spake the last in the Synod of the Apostles at *Jerusalem*, because he was the Bishop.

Article

Article XXXVII.

Of the Civil Magiſtrate.

THe Kings Majeſty hath the chief power in this Realm of England, *and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Eſtates of this Realm, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in all Cauſes, doth appertain: And it is not, nor ought to be ſubject to any foreign Juriſdiction.*

Where we attribute to the Kings Majeſty the chief Government, by which Titles we underſtand the minds of ſome ſlanderous perſons are offended, we give not to our Princes the Miniſtring either of Gods Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions alſo ſet forth by Elizabeth *Our Queen, do moſt plainly teſtifie; but that only Prerogative which we ſee to have been given always to all Godly Princes in holy Scripture, by God himſelf, that is, that they ſhould rule all Eſtates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and reſtrain with the Civil Sword the ſtubborn and evil doers.*

The Biſhop of Rome *hath no Juriſdiction in this Realm of* England.

The Laws of the Realm may puniſh Chriſtian men with death, for heinous and grievous crimes.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the Commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the Wars.

The XXXV. Article appoints Homilies against Rebellion to be read in Churches. The summary of these Homilies, and the whole drift of them, is contained in these words, *In reading of the holy Scriptures we shall find in very many and almost infinite places, as well of the Old Testament as of the New; That Kings and Princes, as well the evil as the good, do reign by Gods Ordinance, and that subjects are bound to obey them.* And that Doctrine of the Church of *England*, which is that of the Word of God, is fully demonstrated in these godly Homilies, published and enjoyned to be read in Churches by Royal Authority.

First part page 2. of the first Homily against wilful disobedience and rebellion.

CHAP. IV.

Proving by the Bulls and Decrees of Popes, That the Doctrine of the Roman Court in the point of Obedience to Sovereigns, is a Doctrine of Rebellion.

HItherto we have stood upon the Defensive, and have with no great labour wiped off the false and foul aspersions of Rebellion cast upon the Doctrin of the Protestant Churches: Let us try whether we can use the Sword as well as the Buckler. And we will use no other than the Popes own Sword; For as *David*

vid said of *Goliah's* sword, *There is none like that, give it me*: In this Combate the enemies sword is the right weapon, none like it. The Adversary to disgrace our Doctrine, hath objected to us some passages of our Authors, most of them false or wrested, and some actions of persons of the Protestant party. But though he had proved all these to be true, he had done no harm to our Doctrine, which is not built upon private opinions, or upon private or publick actions. He should have taken our Confessions in hand, and Indicted them of rebellious Tenets, if he could have found any: Or finding none, he should have given glory to God, and confessed the Truth of God with us.

But if I bring him the Bulls of his Popes, and their Decrees, can he scape as we do, when he urgeth us with maxims of *Buchanan* or *Goodman*? Can he say, *The Pope speaks Treason, and prescribes Rebellion*, as we say of these men; and *my faith is not tyed to his Authority*? Can he as freely go off from the Popes judgment, as we do from the best of our party, when their Tenet is represented to us aberring from the Rule of Gods Word, and dissenting from the Articles of Religion, consented unto by the Provincial Convocations of the Church? We will then object to him and his party that which they cannot disown, unless they disown their Faith and Religion, since their Faith and Religion depend upon the Popes Decrees; and that so strongly, and with such a spirit of delusion, that the most pestilent opinions pass with them for Evangelical Truths, and the most abominable actions for patterns of Holiness, if they be once marked with that stamp; according to *Bellar-*

mines

mines sentence, which no Romanist hath yet disallowed for any thing I know. *If the Pope did erre in commanding vices, or prohibiting vertues, the Church should be obliged to believe that vices are good, and vertues evil, unless she would speak against Conscience.* And to the same purpose he affirmeth, *That in good sense Christ hath given to Saint* Peter *the power to make sin to be no sin, and that which is no sin, to be sin.* And he takes it for granted, That the power which Christ hath given to St. *Peter*, he hath *ipso facto* given it to the Pope his Successor. If then we prove that sedition, rebellion, and murther of Kings, is justified, promoted, yea and commanded by that *Head of their Faith*, the Papists must either approve it as good and holy, or cease to be Papists, and learn to have the Faith of the Lord Jesus Christ the Lord of glory, without respect of persons.

Bellarm. lib. 4. de Pontifice, c. 5. Si Papa erraret in præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona & virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam loqui.

Idem cap. 13. in Barklaium. In bono sensu dedit Christus Petro potestatem faciendi de peccato non peccatum, & de non peccato peccatum.

Since the Roman Church stands much upon her Antiquity, we will begin by the ancientest example of approving the murther of Kings that can be charged upon the Roman See. It is that of *Gregory* the I. who hearing that *Phocas* had slain the Emperor *Mauritius* his Liege Lord, having first killed his children before his face, and that he had invaded the Empire, writ a gratulatory Epistle to that monster, where these words are found. *We are glad that the benignity of your Piety hath attained to the Imperial Dignity: Let the heavens rejoyce, and let the Earth be glad, and let the people of the*

An. Chr. 611.

Greg. 1. lib. 11. Epist 36. Benignitatem pietatis vestræ ad Imperiale fastigium pervenisse gaudemus: Lætentur Cœli, & exultet Terra, & de

the whole Common-wealth be joyful for your gracious deeds.

benignis actibus vestris universæ Reip. populus hilarescat.

The next example shall be that of *Gregory* the II. who rebelled against his Sovereign, the Emperor *Leo Isaurus*, and made *Rome* and the Roman Dutchy do the same: And while the Emperor was sore afflicted with the Wars of the Saracens in the East, he made himself Lord of that part of his Masters Dominions in *Italy*; for which *Sigonius* giveth an admirable reason. *That* Rome *and the Roman Dutchy were lost by the Grecians, and got by the Pope of* Rome, *by reason of their wicked heresie.* A strange kind of penance from a Pastor, to turn the sinner out of his house, and possess himself of it. That wicked heresie of *Leo Isaurus* was, That he prohibited the adoration of Images, and pulled them down every where: For that Heresie and Impiety, the holy Father *Gregory* the II. imposed this penance upon the Emperor; He made him lose his Estate, and himself seized upon it. This is the beginning of the Popes Temporal Principality. This is the Title whereby he holds *Rome* and the Territory of it to this day; even plain Rebellion, and Tyrannical Invasion of his Sovereigns Estate and Dominion.

An Chr. 726.

Sigonius Hist. de Regno Italiæ, lib. 3.

Ita Roma Romanusque Ducatus à Græcis ad Romanum Pontificem propter nefandam eorum hæresim impietatemq; pervenit.

The next Successor of *Gregory* the II. was *Gregory* the III. of whom *Platina* writeth thus. *This Pope as soon as he attained to the Papal Degree, by the consent of the Roman Clergy, deprived* Leo *the* III. *Emperor of* Constantinople, *both of his Empire, and of the Communion of the faithful, be-*

Platina in Greg. III.

Hic statim ubi Pontificatum iniit Cleri Romani consensu *Leonem* tertium Imperatorem *Constantinopolitanum* Imperio simul & communione Fidelium privat, quod sanctas Ima-

cause

gines è sacris ædibus abrasisset,

cause he had swept away the holy Images out of the Churches. Observe that *Platina* that writ about the year 1472. at *Rome*, speaks according to the great interest of that time and place, which was, That an Emperor excommunicated, was *ipso facto* deprived of his Empire: Whereas the Popes that lived 700. years before, either had not that ambition, or wanted the courage to depose Emperors. But the Popes that reigned two or three hundred years ago, made that power of deposing Princes, as ancient as they could by their Historians.

The same must be said of the pretended deposition of *Chilperick* King of *France* by Pope *Zachary*, the next Successor of *Gregory* the III. Cardinal *Perron* sets forth that example to fright Kings, in his Oration before the three States of *France*, and saith that the Pope absolved the people of *France* from their Allegiance to that King, for which he alledgeth the testimony of two new Authors, *Paulus Æmilius* and *Du Tillet*. But *Ado* Bishop of *Vienna* in his Chronicle saith, *That the French by the counsel of Embassadors, and of Pope* Zachary, *established* Pepin *their King.* And *Trithemius* in his *Abridgment of Annals* speaks thus: Chilperick *King of the* French, *is put out from the Kingdom, as incapable to reign, by the common consent of the great persons of the Kingdom, Pope* Zachary *giving them counsel.*

But although the Champions of the Court of *Rome* ascribe to these ancient Popes that power which they never exercised or pretended to; That assertion of theirs is very favourable to my purpose, which is to shew that the Roman Court is, and delights to be the Troubler

bler of Christendom by that usurpation of deposing Kings, and absolving Subjects from their Allegiance: For the more they strive for it, and labour to root it in Antiquity, the more they shew the stirring of Rebellions to be essential and original unto their wicked Throne.

After *Zachary* followed *Stephen* the II. who set on *Pepin* to expel the Exarchs out of *Italy*, and obtained of him the Exarchat for himself, though belonging to the Emperor of *Constantinople* his true Sovereign: So there was both Rebellion and Robbery in that proceeding. Wherein he followed the steps of *Gregory* the II. who thirty years before had robbed the Emperor his Master of the City of *Rome*, and the Roman Dutchy. *Platina.*

Yet in these Dominions the Emperors of the West, (which then begun again) kept the Imperial Power. * *Platina* affirmeth, That *when* Lothary *came into* Italy, *he chose Magistrates to judge the people of* Rome: For in the partage between the sons of *Lewis* the Meek, *Italy* and *Rome* fell to the share of *Lothary* the eldest. But above all, the testimony of *Sigonius* is express, who speaking of the posture of *Italy* in the year 973. saith, That *the Pope kept* Rome, Ravenna, *and the rest of his Territories, rather by Authority than Sovereignty; because the Cities look'd upon the Pope as a Prince of the Commonwealth, but upon the King as their Sovereign Lord, and to him they paid Tribute and yielded Obedience.* It appear-

* *Platina in vita Eugenii II. Lotharius* in *Italiam* veniens Magistratum delegit qui populo Romano jus diceret.

Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, lib. 7. ann. 973. Pontifex Romam, Ravennam, & ditiones reliquas tenebat authoritate magis quam imperio: quod Civitates Pontificem ut Reip. Principem, Regem vero ut summum Dominum intuerentur, atque ei tributa obsequiaque præberent.

eth by the Histories of *Volaterranus*, *Blondus* and *Sabellicus*, that it is but about two hundred years since the Pope is absolute Master in *Rome*. And for the Spiritual power, *Sigonius* affirmeth, That Pope *Hadrian* the I. yielded to the Emperor *Charlemagne*, the power of ordering the Church, and electing the Pope, which was so approved by Pope *Leo* the VIII. eightscore years after, that * he said that it was not without cause that *Hadrian* the first had done so.

It was about the year 800.

* *Sigonius de reg. Ital. ad an. 963.*

Non sine causa *Adrianum* I. *Carolo* magno tribuisse ut Ecclesiam ordinaret, & Pontificem eligeret.

Platina in Paschalis I.

Paschalis nulla interposita Imperatoris authoritate Pontifex creatur: Hanc ob rem ubi Pontificatum init statim Legatos ad *Ludovicum* misit, qui ejus rei culpam omnem in Clerum & populum rejicerent, quod ab his vi coactus esset pontificium munus obire. Accepta hac satisfactione *Ludovicus* respondit populo & clero, majorum instituta & pacta servanda esse, caverent ne deinceps Majestatem læderent.

Yet Pope *Paschalis* the I. *got into the Roman See without the Emperors Authority and consent*, (as his Predecessor *Stephen* the IV. had done before him) *and then sent to* Lewis *the Meek to purge himself, and cast the fault upon the importunity of the Clergy and the people. The Emperor accepted the excuse, but said withal, That the Clergy and the people should no more offend the Emperors Majesty in that sort.* Let it be then remembred, that the Popes power is an usurpation, first upon the Emperors of the East, and since upon those of the West; that it be not found strange that his power having begun by rebellion and Usurpation, is maintained in the following ages by answerable means, and liveth by the same elements of which it was composed. This also will give an evidence to the judicious Reader of the true cause why the Popes had such a long and pertinacious quarrel with the Emperors, and thundred continually

upon

upon them with Excommunications, created to them enemies, and tore the Empire with Factions; even that they might strip the Emperor of all his right in *Italy*, make themselves independent both for the Spiritual and the Temporal, and raise their greatness upon the fall of the Empire. So the many examples which I shall bring of excommunicating and deposing of Emperors, and absolving their subjects from their Allegiance, shall lay a double guilt of rebellion upon the Popes, both as commanding rebellion abroad, and practising rebellion at home against their lawful Sovereigns.

The first Pope that offered to excommunicate the King of *France*, was *Gregory* the IV. who joyned with the Sons of *Lewis* the meek, who had conspired against their Father. But the French Bishops threatned to excommunicate him, so he desisted. *Sigebert. An. 832.*

The first Pope that attempted to draw his spiritual Sword against the Emperor, was that honest man *Gregory* the VII. called before *Hildebrand*, who excommunicated the Emperor *Henry* the IV. but deposed him before. The Empire he translated to *Rudolph* Duke of *Suevia*. But you must understand that though he gave him the Empire, he did not deliver it. For *Rudolph* was slain in battel by the Emperor. *Rome* was taken by the Emperor, and *Gregory* died for grief. The last words of *Rudolph* are notable: Seeing his hand cut off, he said to the Bishops that had made him take arms. You see my hand which I had lift up to God with an Oath of fidelity to my Sovereign, now punisht for fighting traiterously against him by your instigation. It seems that

Anno circiter 1080.

[*Latinus in Greg.* VII. Imperatorem ipsum anathemate notavit, privatum prius omni Regia administratione.

Marianus Scotus. Sigebertus Vspergensis.

that the Popes command could not clear his conſcience of the crime of rebellion.

Platina. Sigebertus. *Urban* the II. did alſo excommunicate and perſecute that worthy Emperor *Henry* the IV. This is that *Urban* who made that goodly Decree, That an Oath made to an excommunicated perſon, muſt not be kept. The quarrel which made theſe Popes excommunicate the Emperor was about collation of Benefices.

Urban II. Cauſa 15. q. 6. Can. Juratos. Juratos milites Hugoni Comiti ne ipſi quandiu excommunicatus eſt ſerviant prohibemus.

Pope *Paſchal* the II. who ſucceeded *Urban*, made that Emperors Son to take arms againſt his Father. And that ungracious Son was ſuch an obedient Son to his Holineſs, that he gave battel to his Father: Who being overcome, and in his enemies hands, was depoſed in a Synod held at *Mentz*, by the Popes command to that purpoſe, and the Crown and other Imperial ornaments, were taken violently from him by three Biſhops, of *Mentz*, of *Collen*, and of *Worms*, and given to his Son *Henry* the V. The old Emperor being ſoon after dead for grief, the Pope would not ſuffer his Son to bury him, but he lay five years unburied. Theſe are the holy actions of him that cannot erre, and *hath all right ſhrined up in the cloſet of his breaſt.*

Aventinus Otho Friſingenſis.

Platina in Paulo II.

It is worth relating how that *Paſchal* ſped by theſe wicked acts. The new Emperor came to *Rome* to be crowned by him. There the quarrel was renewed about collation of Benefices. And becauſe the people of *Rome* roſe in a mutiny againſt him, he made a great ſlaughter of them, and took his Holineſs priſoner; uſing

Baronius An. Chr. 1111.

using *Jacobs* words, *I will not let thee go, till thou hast given me thy blessing.* That blessing was the yielding of the Collation of Benefices, which *Paschal* granted and confirmed it by Oath. But he revoked that Grant as soon as he was free again, although the Oath was taken by the Altar, where *Paschal* dividing the Host between the Emperor and him; used these words, which *Baronius* relates: *Sicubi pars hæc vivifici corporis divisa est, ita divisus sit à regno Christi qui pactum hoc violare tentaverit. As this part of the vivifying body is divided, so let him be divided from Christs Kingdom, that will go about to break this Covenant.* But what! the Pope absolveth others from their Oath, much more himself, when he listeth.

Observe that the Roman Church hath altered her belief in that point, for they hold now that the body of Christ in the Sacrament cannot be divided.

This horrible action of a Son giving battel to his Father, and keeping him prisoner till he die, through hardness and anguish, is highly commended by *Baronius.* Why? the Son did it in obedience to the Pope, who would not pardon his Father, no not after his death. These are *Baronius* his words; In this action, *the Son is no more to be condemned, than if a pious Son should bind his Father, who is fallen mad.* And again, *Who can deny that it was the highest kind of piety, to have shewed himself cruel in this case?* Here is rebellion in the height, of a subject against his Sovereign: Here is a most horrible parricide, of a Son armed against his Father: both commanded by the Pope, and at his command executed. And both praised and recommended by a Jesuite and a famous Cardinal, as a pattern for posterity.

Baron. loco citato. Nihil habes in quo damnes filium, magis quam si insanienti furentiq; pius filius vincula injiciat patri.

Quis negare potest summum fuisse hoc pietatis genus?

Calixtus

Calixtus the II. his next Successor but one, excommunicated *Henry* the V. and forced him to compound.

Frinsingensis. Platina.

How the Pope could be so bold abroad, being so weak at home, it is a wonder to me; for the *Romans* rebelled against *Innocent* the II. and created a Magistrate which they called *Patritius*, to whom they deferred the Government, whereby they broke his heart, and made him die for sorrow. And when Pope *Lucius* the II. went about to put down that new Magistrate, he was answered, that the Senate would recover that right which the Popes had invaded by the help of *Charlemayne*. *Lucius* called upon the Emperor *Conrad* for help, who either could not, or would not help him. *Lucius* raiseth Souldiers, and assaults the Capitol, but in that assault he was so bepelted with stones, that he died few days after.

And although Pope *Eugenius* the II. came to some composition with the *Romans*, yet both he and his Successors, *Anastasius* the IV. and *Hadrian* the IV. were kept under by them, and *Hadrian* was in the end forced to flie from *Rome*. Yet the same *Hadrian* suffered the Emperor *Frederick* the I. to hold his Stirrup, and quarrelled with him for taking the left instead of the right.

Helmodi chron. lib. 1. cap. 81.

That brave Emperor was more coursly used yet by the next Pope *Alexander* the *III.* who trod upon his Neck when he stooped to kiss his Holiness's Foot, using these words of the Psalm 91. *Thou shalt tread upon the Lion and Adder, the young Lion and the Dragon shalt thou trample under feet.*

And when the Emperor said, *Non tibi sed Petro*, This submission I do not to thee, but to *Peter*; the

Pope

Pope treading upon him again, said, *Et mihi & Petro*, Both to me and to *Peter*.

Such was that Popes humility. So did he obey Saint Peters *command: Submit your selves to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake.* The Pope had before excommunicated *Frederick*; and when he came to submit and reconcile himself unto the Pope, his Holiness gave him this welcome.

This so memorable passage, so known and so odious to all the World, is left out for shame by *Platina* and his Commentator *Onuphrius*. And all that *Platina* saith of that meeting is, that Frederick *kist the Popes feet in the Porch of Saint* Mark *of* Venice, *and then they went together to the great Altar*. But it is attested by twenty Historians alledged by *Hieronymo Bardo* in his *Historia Navalis*. The great Jurisconsult * *Duarenus* relateth it with great detestation of so great a pride and tyranny. For which *Joseph Stevan* * who writ at *Rome* to *Gregory* the XIII. *of kissing the Popes feet*, checks *Duarenus*, saying that Pope *Alexander* the III. *trod the Emperor* Frederick *under foot, not only as salt which hath lost its savour, but as an horrible wild beast.* And *Otho Frisingensis* both relates it and commends it, * and saith, That the *Popes have the power to do so much, when they see the tyranny of Princes, or that faith is violated, or the dignity of the Church imbezelled.* So though the History were not as it is, most undoubted-

Platina in Alexandro III.

* *Duarenus lib. 1. de sacrâ Ecclesiæ Ministeriis, cap. 2.*

* Joseph Stevan. *Epist. ad* Gregor. XIII. *de osculo pedum Papæ.*

Jure meritoque in Religionis & Ecclesiæ infensissimum hostem *Fredericum* Barbarossam, non ut in salem infatuatum quem jubet Christus pedibus proterere, sed potius ut horrendam bestiam calcibus insultavit.

* *Otho Frising. lib. cap. 14.*

Quod factum summis liberum est sacerdotibus, cum Principum tyrannidem, aut violatam fidem, aut Ecclesiæ imminutam dignitatem vident.

ly true, the approving and exalting of the fact in the Court of *Rome* makes that Court as guilty, as if it had been done. But it was done, and as bad was done by other Popes.

Pope *Celestin* the *III.* gave *Constantia* a Nun in marriage to the Emperor *Henry* the *VI.* and gave him for her dowry the Kingdom of both the *Sicilies*, upon condition he should expel *Tancred*, who was possess'd of the Kingdom. Hence a bloody War between *Henry* the *VI.* and *Tancred*. It is ordinary to the Pope to give that which is none of his. When the Pope giveth a Kingdom from a Prince that enjoyeth it, he commands together the people to resist him, making a sport to spill their blood, and damn their souls.

Platina Uspergensis.

Baronius commends very much that *Popes* behaviour in the Crowning of the Emperor *Henry* the *VI.* and his Wife, thus related in the Annals of *Rogerius*.

Annal. Roger. an. 1191.

Sedebat Dominus Papa in Cathedra Pontificali tenens coronam auream inter pedes suos; & Imperator inclinato capite recepit coronam, & imperatrix similiter de pedibus Domini Papæ: Dominus autem Papa statim percussit cum pede suo coronam Imperatoris, & dejecit eam in terram, significans quod ipse potestatem ejiciendi eum ab Imperio habet, si ille demeruerit.

The Pope was sitting in his pontifical chair holding an Imperial golden Crown between his feet; and the Emperor bowing his head, received the Crown, and the Empress likewise by the feet of the Pope. And the Pope presently hit the Emperors Crown, and kick'd it down to the ground, thereby signifying that he had power to cast him down from the Empire if he deserved it.

Baronius having related this, amplifieth it with this morality, * *That it might remain fixed in the Emperors mind, that it lieth in the Popes pleasure to give, keep, preserve, and take away the Empire if there be cause for*

* *Baron. Tom. 12. Anno 1191. sect. 10.*

Ut fixum menti [*Cæsaris*] hæreret, nempe dare, custodire, conservare, & auferre, si causa exigeret, imperium esse

for it, he would admonish him with such an example.

in voluntate Romani Pontificis, ejusmodi voluit commonere cum exemplo.

Could the Devil have set up pride to a higher pin? to put the Emperors Crown at his feet, as a foot-stool for him to tread upon; put the Crown on the Emperors head with his feet, as an office too low for his hands: and then with his foot kick it down, as having a quarrel against the Imperial Crown, and together a contempt for it. This and the treading upon the Emperors neck were *significant ceremonies* with a witness. And what more effectual course could have been taken to raise rebellion in all the States of Christendom, than thus to blast the respect of Majesty? For thereby all Nations were taught, that their Princes were not Soveneigns, but the Popes Vassals and Liegemen: That themselves were not their Kings Subjects, but the Popes, who could kick down their Crowns when he listed; and that when that supreme Head shall command it, the Feet, that is the inferior Members of the State, must make Foot-balls of the Crowns of Emperors and Kings.

After *Celestin* the *III.* came *Innocent* the *III.* as proud, but more active than he. *England* hath reason to remember this Pope. For he excommunicated King *John*, deposed him, absolved his Subjects from their allegiance to him, and cast an Interdict upon *England*, which lasted six years. All which time no Divine Service was said in the Kingdom, but in some privileged places, no Sacrament was administred, and no Corps buried in Consecrated Ground. The Kingdom of *England* he gave to *Philip August* of *France*, if he could

take it; and that by a formal order, thus related by *Matthew Paris*; *The Pope by the counsel of the Cardinals, Bishops, and other prudent men gave a definitive sentence, that the King should be put down from his Throne: For the execution of that Sentence, The Pope writ to the most potent King of the French,* Philip, *that for the remission of his sins he should take that labour upon him.* A new way for that King to get the remission of his sins, to invade his neighbours estate. As in the age of our Fathers Pope *Sixtus* the V. gave Nine Years of true indulgence to all the French that would bear arms against their King *Henry* the *III.* Thus the remission of sins purchased by the bloud of the Son of God, and presented by his Gospel to all that repent and believe, is by the Pope given as a reward of Invasion and Rebellion.

Matth. Paris in vita Reg. Johan. Papa ex consilio Cardinalium, Episcoporum, & aliorum virorum prudentium, sententialiter definivit ut Rex à solio deponeretur. Ad hujus quoque sententiæ executionem scripsit Dominus Papa potentissimo Regi Francorum *Philippo*, quatenus in remissionem peccatorum suorum hunc laborem assumeret.

Matthew Paris writes, that, The Pope having gotten the Kingdom of *England* to himself (to his thinking) sent to *Philip August*, to enjoyn him to be reconciled with King *John*, else he would put *France* to Interdict. *Philip* answered, that he feared not his sentence, and that it belonged not to the Church of *Rome* to pronounce a sentence against the King of *France*.

It is a long and a sad story, how King *John* was persecuted by Pope *Innocent* the *III.* his Barons made to rise against him, his Neighbours to fall upon him, his Clergy to revile him, and his People to despise him; till that unlucky King was brought to such an extremity, that to buy his peace he gave his Kingdom to the Pope,

Pope, and yet could not get his peace that way. The Gold which he laid at the Legats feet in sign of subjection, the Legat trod under his feet in scorn, yet took it in his hand after, so great was his clemency.

What a cruel tyranny did the following Popes exercise over his Son *Henry* the *III.* in his long and unfortunate Reign, insulting over his weakness and superstition? How licentiously did these Wolves tear and raven in *England*, while the publick cry of the oppressed people represented unto the King, that his *Kingdom was become like a Vine, whose fence is pulled down, and rooted out by the wild Boar.*

Math. Paris in vita Hen. III.

These Histories which make the usurpations of the Roman Court to be abhorred, yet are set forth by the Jesuite *Petra Sancta* as examples for all Princes; And he would have all Kings to imitate King *John* and *Henry* the *III.* of *England* in their subjection to the Pope. He could not have chosen more pregnant examples to dehort them from it, considering the gulf of miseries which they sunk into by their stooping under the Popes tyranny. But they have more reason to follow the example of the next King, brave *Edward* the *I.* who recovered his own and his Kingdoms liberty, by expelling all the Roman Exactors out of *England*; and by his contempt of *Rome* reigned peaceable and glorious. For the Pope, who in the Reigns of his Father and Grandfather was thundering continually, and cudgelling both King and people, never spake a word against this stout King.

Petra Sancta. Not. in Epist. ad Balzac.

Pope *Innocent* the *III.* played with his Spiritual Sword in *Germany* as well as in *England*, for he excommunicated

Platina in *Innocent III.* Otho iram Pontificis in se concitavit à quo & anathemate notatur & Imperii *titulis* privatur.

municated the Emperor *Otho* the *IV.* *and deprived him of the titles of the Empire*, as *Platina* speaks warily, for Popes cannot take away Kingdoms, but only deny to acknowledge the *titles*.

The Emperor *Frederick* the *II.* was worse used by the Popes, though much deserving of the Roman See, to which he had given the County of *Fundi*. For he was excommunicated and deposed by Pope *Honorius* the *III.* and again by *Gregory* the *IX.* for that Monster of pride and greedinesse, when the Emperor was gone on his errand into *Palæstina*, anathematized him, raised him enemies in *Germany*, by his preaching Friars, and taking advantage of his absence, sent an Army into *Apulia*, and seised upon the Emperors Lands. Twice he shewed himself reconciled with the Emperor, and twice again broke with him, and excommunicated him; but with ill success to himself: For by all these Excommunications and Depositions the Emperor thrived; who after a long patience fell upon the Pope; made his Interdicts laid upon the Empire, to be hissed out; and so distressed the Pope by his Armies, that he died for wrath and sorrow.

Platina.

Matth. Paris in Vita *Hen. III. Reg. Angl. Uspergensis. Trithemius.*

The same Emperor was also excommunicated and persecuted by Pope *Innocent* the *IV.* And when after the Emperors death, the arms of his Son prospered in *Italy*, he gave the Kingdom of *Sicily* to *Richard* brother to *Henry* the *VII.* of *England*; *Richard* not acquainted with the Popes giving of Kingdoms, asketh that the Forts and the Treasure and Hostages should be given to him. Herein wiser (if he had stayed there) than others,

Platina. Matth. Paris.

others, who accept that which the Pope cannot deliver.

I will pass by many Popes that came after, who sent their Excommunications no further than the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and filled *Italy* with factions, that they might fish in troubled waters: Let us fix our contemplation a little upon that high pattern of Pontifical vertues, *Boniface* the *VIII.* upon whom *Platina* bestoweth this Character. *That* Boniface *who studied to give terrour rather than religion, unto Emperors, Kings, Princes, and Nations, and laboured to give and take away Kingdoms, drive men away, and bring them again, according to his pleasure. One that was thirsty of goods scraped up from all places, more than can be exprest.*

Platina in *Bonifacio.*
Bonifacius ille qui Imperatoribus, Regibus, Principibus, Nationibus, Populis, terrorem potius quam religionem injicere conabatur; Quique dare regna & auferre, pellere homines ac reducere, pro arbitrio conabatur; aurum undique conquisitum plus quam dici potest sitiens.

The passages between him and the French King *Philip* the Fair, are known, yet perhaps not to all. This is the History in short: This Pope having a grudge against him about the Collation of Benefices, and desiring to pick a quarrel, sent to him the Bishop of *Pamiers*, to command him to undertake an expedition to the Holy Land, and to threaten him if he refused. The Bishop did that errand so malapertly, that the King offended, committed him to prison. The Pope angry, demanded the Bishop again, and had him; and sent this Letter to the King. *Fear God, and keep his Commandments. We will have thee to know that thou art our Subject, both for the Spiritual and the Temporal. That no Collation of Benefices and Prebends belongs to thee.*

Stella. Histoire de France.

thee. And if thou hast the custody of any of them that are vacant, we will have thee to reserve the fruits for their Successors. And if thou hast granted any (Benefices) *We declare all such Collations null, and as far as they are executed* de facto, *We revoke them. Those that believe otherwise, we hold them for Hereticks.* These goodly Letters being brought to *Paris* by a Legate, were pluckt from him by the Kings Council and Judges, and cast into the fire by the Earl of *Artois*. And to them the King returned this Answer: Philip *by the Grace of God, King of the French, to* Boniface, *calling himself Sovereign Pontife; little greeting, or rather none at all. Let thy most egregious folly know that in temporal things we are subject to no man. That the Collation of Churches and Prebends belongs unto us by Royal Right, and converting the same to our use, during the vacancy. That the Collation by us made, and to be made, shall be valid; and that in vertue of the same, we will couragiously defend the possessors. Those that hold otherwise, We hold to be idiots, and bereaved of their sense.*

The Pope inraged excommunicates the King, but none durst be the publisher or bearer of that Bull. The King assembleth at *Paris* his Knights, Barons, and Prelates, and asketh them of whom they hold their Lordships, and the temporal of their Ecclesiastical preferments. All answer that they hold them of the King, not of the Pope, whom they charge with heresie and many crimes. The Pope assembleth a General Council (as *Platina* calleth it) though it was gathered out of few Countries) and by a Decree of that Council, depriveth *Philip* of his Kingdom, and giveth it to the Emperor

Platina.

peror *Albert*; and laboureth to arm *Germany* and *Netherlands* against *France*. But that vigorous King sent *Nogaret* into *Italy*, who by the help of *Sciarra Columna*, whose Family *Boniface* had cruelly oppreſt, got two hundred Horſe, and ſurpriſed the Pope at *Anagnia*, whom they mounted upon a poor jade, and brought him priſoner to *Rome*, where he was ſo ill beloved, that no body ſtirred to reſcue him. With this adverſity his proud heart was broken, and he died five and thirty days after.

Benedict the XI. who was elected in his place, abſolved *Philip* preſently. And his ſucceſſor *Clement* the V. to that Abſolution added a complemental Bull, in which *Philip* is exalted as a pious and religious Prince, and well deſerving of the Church; as it may be ſeen *Extravagante Meruit*. For the Popes eaſily pardoned the ſins of those whom they feared. Truly that vertuous King hath left a fair leſſon to poſterity, by what ways the favour of that Holy See ought to be purchaſed and preſerved. And ſince *Lewis* the XIV. now reigning is taking the like courſe with the Pope, he is like to be in time the favourite of his Holineſs, and to obtain from him another Bull *meruit*; declaring how well that eldeſt Son of the Church hath deſerved from the Church his Mother.

As it may be ſeen *Extravagante Meruit*.

This was written *an.* 1667.

Pope *John* XXIII. angry that *Ludovicus Bavarus* had taken upon him the adminiſtration of the Empire, before he got his leave, refuſed to crown him, though many times deſired by him. The Emperor did nothing the leſs continue his power and imperial care both in *Germany* and *Italy*, and going to *Rome* (the Pope then

Platina. Hieronymus Marius.

then sitting at *Avignon*) was crowned by the joynt consent of Clergy, Nobles, and People. Upon which he was excommunicated and deprived of the Empire as far as words could do it, by this Pope. And the same Sentence was confirmed against the Emperor, by the Successor of *John*, *Benedict* the XII.

Clement the VI. who came next after, was more *inclement* than his predecessors, in persecuting *Ludovicus Bavarus*. For he excommunicated all the Bishops that adhered to him; and set Bulls at the doors of all the Churches, to raise rebellion against him. And when the Emperor would submit to him, and sue for peace, he required such conditions of him, as neither he, nor the Princes of the Empire, would or could yield unto, as that he should depose himself, put all his Estate, and his own Sons in the Popes power, and promise to undertake no more any thing, without the Popes leave. These conditions being rejected by the Emperor, *Clement* charged the Electors to Elect another. Which when the Archbishop of *Mentz* refused to do, representing the Emperors innocency, he deprived him of his Archbishoprick, and of his Electoral dignity. The other Electors corrupted with money by *John* King of *Bohemia*, elected his Son *Charles* King of the Romans, whom *Clement* approved; whence great and bloudy Wars followed, and the Emperor *Ludovicus Bavarus* was taken away by poison by *Clements* means, as some Authors write.

Nauclerus.

That Election of *Charles* the IV. was the breaking of the back of the Empire, which the Popes had been long labouring for. For this *Charles*, that he might be elected

Fasciculus temp. Volaterran.

elected Emperor, pawned the tributes of the Empire to the Electors: And the Electors made him swear that he would never disengage that pawn. Then they made him make that authentical Capitulation, which I have produced in my first Chapter. The Empire being thus weakned, and losing the Tributes, which are the sinews of War, was disabled from resisting the Turk, who hath since wasted the Christian Provinces with little opposition, and hath destroyed so many Churches, or turned them into Moskites. For all these distractions, the Church and the Empire may thank the See of *Rome*, which had a hand in all the Negotiations of the Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*; and whose Authority acted always for the depression of the Emperor. Neither could all these conditions, so hurtful to the Imperial Dignity, and the publick subsistence, have past into standing laws, if the Pope had not promoted them, or if he would have shewed himself against them.

Since this Pope *Clement* the VI. for about fifty or threescore years, I find not that the Popes had many irons in the fire out of the limits of *Italy*, the Papal power being much broken with Schisms. So that the Popes instead of fulminating Bulls against Emperors and Kings, courted the several Monarchs of Christendom, to take their party against their Anti-popes.

Benedict the XIII. in the year 1408. being incensed against *Charles* the VI. of *France*, for inhibiting the exactions of the Papal Court, sent a Bull of Excommunication against the King and his Princes. The University of *Paris* required that the Bull should be torn, and

Theodoricus à Niem in nemore unionis.

Somnium Viridarii.

and that Pope *Benedict*, (whom they called *Peter de Luna*) should be declared Heretick, Schismatick, and disturber of peace: Which was done. The Bull was torn by Sentence of the Court: And two *Bullists*, bearers of that Bull, made that which they call *Honourable amends*, upon the Palace stair, then were carried in two dung carts, arrayed in Jerkins of course linnen cloth painted, with paper Miters on their head, the trumpets sounding before them, and the common people howting upon them, and abusing them. So little account did they make of the roaring of the Popes Bulls.

Carolus Molinæus contra parvus datus, relates that Sentence of the Court.

For a hundred years after *Benedict* the XIII. I find not that the Popes made use of their spiritual Sword against any Prince out of *Italy* and *Sicily*; partly by reason of Schisms, when that Roman Beast had many heads; partly by reason of the Councils occasioned by these Schisms. For they had three Councils in less than forty years, at *Constance*, at *Basil*, and at *Florence*; and the first and second of them took upon them to depose Popes, and gave credit to that dangerous opinion, so odious to the Court of *Rome*, that the Council is above the Pope. This kept the Popes for a time in some order and respect to the Princes of Christendom, but for some wrangling about pragmatick sanctions, which grew not so high as to War or Excommunication.

But in recompence, *Julius* the II. raised wars and tumults, as much as would serve for a hundred years. He drew both his Swords against several Princes and States of Christendom; especially against that excellent

lent King *Lewis* the XII. of *France*. For having drawn him into *Italy* for his ends, he makes a League to drive him out; excommunicates him, and puts his Kingdom in Interdict. Excommunicates the *Venetians*, giveth their dominions to any that will take them. Driveth the *Bentivogli* out of *Bononia*; exposeth their Houses to pillage: Excommunicates the Duke of *Ferrara*, and invades his Countrey by Arms; goes to War in person. Makes the English, the Spaniards, and the Switzers, to fall upon the French; takes many Imperial Cities. Excommunicates the King of *Navarre*, and giveth his Kingdom to the King of *Arragon*, who upon that invades and takes it: And this is all the title that the Spaniard hath to *Navarre*, which he keepeth to this day. So much blood was shed in Christendom by the means of that plague of Mankind Pope *Julius* the II. that it is thought that he was the death of two hundred thousand Christians, in seven years time.

Onuphrius. Paul. Jovius.

In a Synod of the Gallican Church at *Tours*, it was declared that the Pope hath no power to make war against a Christian Prince; and if he do so, that the Prince hath power to invade the Popes Territories. This the King signifieth to *Julius*, and cites him to answer to a General Council, which both the Emperor and he had called to be held at *Lyons*. The Council was held there, but soon removed to *Pisa*; where the Council cited *Julius* to appear; and he not appearing, was condemned as an Incendiary, unworthy to sit at the Helm of the Church, and declared deprived of the Papal Dignity. There also *Lewis* coined golden Crowns with this Motto, *Perdam nomen Babylonis.*

Nicol. Gilles in Vita Ludov. XIII. Thuan. lib. 1.

I will destroy the name of Babylon. For it is observable, that all that have quarrelled with the See of *Rome* these thirteen hundred years, have called it *Babylon*, and Saint *Hieronme* was he that began.

Hieron. ad Marcellam.

We cannot charge the Successor of *Julius*, *Leo* the X. to have stirred Wars abroad; he loved too much his ease at home for that. But I could not pass by him, for indeed his memory is precious to all Protestants, for giving occasion to the Reformation by his Indulgences. And he is worthy to be recorded for his sentence spoken to his Secretary Cardinal *Bembo*, *Quantum nobis nostrisque ea de Christo fabula profuerit, satis est omnibus saeculis notum*, an axiome of too high a nature to be Englished.

Crispinus.

After him came next but one *Clement* the VII. the Fomenter of the quarrel between the Emperor and the French, joyning sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other, and playing false with both, whereby he gave occasion to the taking and sacking of *Rome*. The thundering of this Pope, and of his Successor *Paul* the III. against *Henry* the VIII. did him no harm, but to themselves, and to the Roman See very much.

Jovius.

Of the following Popes till *Pius* the V. the Protestants have much to say, as of Men that sought their own pleasure, and wrought their ruine. Hence so much blood spilt in horrible Massacres. But these are besides my subject, which is to make the Popes to appear Authors of rebellion.

But now in a good time we are come to *Pius* the V. that Pope whom the English Protestants have most reason

son to remember. For without admonition or citation premised, he pronounced a sentence of anathema against that blessed and glorious Queen *Elizabeth*, to raise rebellion in the Kingdom against her Authority and Life, and caused the same to be published and set up upon the Palace Gate of the Bishop of *London*: the Title was this; *A sentence declaratory of our holy Lord Pope* Pius *against* Elizabeth *Queen of* England, *and the Hereticks adhering unto her. Wherein her Subjects are declared absolved from the Oath of Allegiance, and every thing due unto her whatsoever; and those which from thenceforth obey her, are innodated with the anathema.* In that Bull Pope *Pius* having first styled himself *Servant of Servants*, declareth that *God hath made the Bishop of* Rome *Prince over all People, and all Kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant and build.* Then he calleth Elizabeth *the pretended Queen of* England, *the servant of wickedness.* And having declared her crimes, which are to have taken upon her self that supremacy which his Holiness pretended to, and to have established the true Catholick Orthodox Religion in her Kingdoms, he doth thunder out this seditious Decree against her and all her loyal Subjects. *We do out of the fulness of our Apostolick power declare the aforesaid* Elizabeth, *being an Heretick, and a favourer of Hereticks, and her adherents in the matters aforesaid, to have incurred the sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. And moreover we do declare her to be deprived of her pretended Title to the Kingdom aforesaid, and of all Dominion, Dignity, and Priviledge whatsoever. And also the Nobility, Subjects,*

Cambden Hist. of Q. Elizabeth.

Nicolaus Sanderus de schismate Anglicano. lib. 3.

and

and People of the said Kingdom, and all other which have in any sort sworn unto her, to be for ever absolved from any such Oath, and all manner of duty of Dominion, Allegiance, and Obedience, as we also do by authority of these presents absolve them, and do deprive the same Elizabeth *of her pretended Title to the Kingdom, and all other things abovesaid. And we do command and interdict all and every the Noblemen, Subjects, People, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her Monitions, Mandates, and Laws: And those which shall do to the contrary, we do innodate with the like sentence of anathema.*

This Bull was the fire and the roaring of the Cannon, and the bullet came forth immediately; which was the rebellion in the *North*, for which *Chapino Vitelli* was sent into *England* from the Duke of *Alva*, under pretence of compounding some controversies about commerce. And *Nicholas Morton* was sent from the Pope to knit the rebellion. Which he did, denouncing from his Master, that Queen *Elizabeth* was an Heretick, and thereby had forfeited to the Pope all her dominion and power. At the same time a rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, kindled or blown by a Spaniard, *Juan Mendoza*. And when the Rebels of *England* were defeated, they found refuge among the Papist Rebels of *Scotland*, who set up again the English rebellion. All these in vain, by the gracious assistance of God to poor *England*, as if his compassion had been stirred up by his jealousie, after that the Pope had declared himself so insolently, *Prince over all People, and all Kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build.* And God

God would ſhew, that to himſelf, not to the Pope, *belongeth the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory for ever.*

Neither did *Pius* the V. fight only by Bulls, but at the ſame time that the Bull was publiſhed, he laid down a hundred thouſand Crowns to raiſe the rebellion, and promiſed fifty thouſand more, yea, and to bear the whole charge of the War. That Money was diſtributed by one *Ridolpho.* And how active that Pope was to ſtir *Spain, France* and *Netherlands* againſt the Queen, and to put her Kingdom in combuſtion, is related by *Hieronymo Catena,* an Author of great credit at *Rome* in his life of *Pius* the V.

Gregory the XIII. ſucceeded *Pius* the V. in all his plots againſt *England.* He gave to *Thomas Stukely,* an Engliſh Rebel, a Commiſſion to help the Rebels of *Ireland,* and get that Kingdom for the Baſtard-Son of his Holineſs, *James Boncompagnon* ; and gave him the command of eight hundred Italians to joyn with King *Sebaſtian* of *Portugal,* who had engaged his word to the Pope to ſerve him with his whole power againſt Queen *Elizabeth,* and had raiſed a great Army for that expedition. But when *Stukely* came to *Sebaſtian*, he found him poſſeſs'd with a new project to help a Moor King of *Fez,* againſt another King who kept him out of poſſeſſion, and to get the Kingdom from them both. To that War he invited *Stukely,* promiſing that preſently after that work done (which he repreſented to him moſt eaſie) they ſhould go together to the War againſt *England* and *Ireland.* So they ſailed over into *Africa,* where *Sebaſtian* and his whole Army were de-

ſtroyed; and with him *Stukely* and the Popes Italian Souldiers were cut in pieces. A deliverance of *England* ever to be remembred with praiſe and admiration. *So let thine enemies periſh, O Lord.*

This Pope had a great hand in that unparalleled villany wrought by the marriage of *Henry* Prince of *Navarre*, with the Siſter of *Charles* the IX. of *France*. A marriage which *Pius* the V. would never conſent unto, by reaſon of their difference in Religion. But when his Succeſſor *Gregory* the XIII. was told by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, that this marriage was intended as a trap to deſtroy *Henry* and his Proteſtant party, he preſently gave his diſpenſation for the celebrating of it, and encouraged the deſign. The horrible maſſacre which attended the jollity of that marriage, was received at *Rome* with triumphant expreſſions of publick joy. And Cardinal *Urſin* was ſent Legat into *France*, to praiſe the Kings piety and wiſdom in that great action, and to beſtow bleſſings and ſpiritual graces upon the King and the Actors of that fearful Tragedy. The Court of *Rome* might well praiſe what themſelves had procured, if not contrived; and truly the plot hath an Italian garb, and looks not like a production of the French ſoil.

Thuanus.

Not long after, this Pope ſent to *Henry* the III. of *France*, and to his people Indulgences for millions of years, which were to be obtained by making proceſſions to four Churches in *Paris*, and by being zealous and diligent in the extirpation of hereſies, that is (in his ſtyle) to extermine the Proteſtants.

The Male line of the Kings of *Portugal* being extinct, this

this Pope laid a claim to the Kingdom, as depending from the holy See, and would have the Nation to have taken arms for him against the heirs from the Females: But his claim was hissed out with great scorn.

In the year 1580. this Pope sent an Italian called *San Josepho* with some Italian Troops into *Ireland*, to joyn with the Irish Rebels. When they were demanded by a message from the Lord Deputy who they were, and what they came for, they answered, Some that they were sent by the most holy Father the Pope, and some from the Catholick King of *Spain*, to whom the Pope had given *Ireland*, because Queen *Elizabeth* had justly forfeited her Title to *Ireland* by her heresie. A doctrine which at the same time was preach'd in *England* and *Ireland* by Jesuites and other Seminary Priests; with great boldness and vehemency: till the Queen and her Council perceiving what danger the State was running into by these Mens activeness and impunity, *Campian* and some others sent by the Pope on that errand were apprehended. And being examined, they obstinately defended the Popes authority over the Queen, and maintained that she was no Queen, as being lawfully deposed by the Pope; upon which they were condemned and executed. That Crown of Martyrdom the Pope procured to his Confessors. And the greater the number is of those Martyrs that the Papists muster, the more they exaggerate the Popes cruelty to his truest Vassals. For could the Pope expect, that persons sent to perswade the people to dispossess and kill their Sovereign, should have other dealing from the hand of Justice?

The principal Article of the late Papal Creed is,

that which *Pius* the V. sets forth in his Bull against the Queen, that *God hath made the Bishop of* Rome *Prince over all people and all Kingdoms.* But the English Papists are taught that besides that general right over all Kingdoms, the Pope hath a peculiar right over *England* and *Ireland* as his proper Dominions. This is *Bellarmines* doctrine which he hath made bold to maintain unto King *James* himself. *The King of* England (saith he) *is subject to the Pope by double right. The one by reason of his Apostolick power, which extends over all men, according to that* (Charter) Ps. 44. *Thou shalt establish them Princes over all the World. The other proper, by a right dominion.* Then he pleadeth that *England* and *Ireland* are the Churches dominions, the Pope the direct Lord, and the King his Vassal. This then being become an Article of Religion, in which the English Papists are instructed; and this in consequence, that if the Pope disallow the King, he is no more King of *England*, but an Usurper, and must be used accordingly: Let any man judge, who hath some equity and freedom of judgment left, whether a prudent Prince and Council of State, ought to suffer such an instruction to be given to the people. Truly the more Religion is pretended for that doctrine, and the practice of Rebellion obtruded as a commandment of the Church, the more it concerns the loyal Magistrate to oppose it vigorously.

Bellar. lib. cui Titulus Tortus. pag. 19. Rex Anglorum duplici jure subjectus est Papæ, uno communi omnibus Christianis ratione Apostolicæ potestatis quæ in omnes extenditur, juxta illud, Ps. 44. Constitues eos Principes super omnem terram: Altero proprio, ratione recti dominii.

Pope *Sixtus* the V. to favour the enterprise of *Philip* the II. upon *England*, renewed the Excommunication of

of Queen *Elizabeth*, pronounced by *Pius* the V. deprived her (*verbo tenus*) of her Kingdom, absolved her subjects from all Allegiance to her, and published a *Croisada* against her, as against the Turk, giving plenary Indulgence to all that would make war against her. But the Popes Curses provoked Gods blessings upon the Queen, who might say as *David*, when *Shimei* cursed him; *The Lord will requite me good for his cursing this day.* All the storms raised against *England*, were blown over without harm. The great preparations of *Spain* served only to disable it, and secure *England*. And the many attempts against the Queens life upon that Bull, contributed to her safety, by manifesting to the World the wickedness of *Rome*, and the pernicious effects of the Roman principles. For which I might produce the Examinations and Confessions of many that suffered for attempting to murther the Queen, but I will bring but one for all. *William Parry* acknowledged that *he had promis'd at* Rome *to kill the Queen, about which he was most troubled in his conscience, till he lighted upon Dr.* Allens book, *which taught that Princes excommunicate for heresie, were to be deprived of Kingdom and life: Which book* (saith he) *did vehemently excite me to prosecute my attempt.*

This Popes Excommunications had more effect in *France*, for after that he had excommunicated King *Henry* the *III.* and absolved his subjects from all Allegiance to him; in consequence of that Bull many of the French rebelled against their King, and he was slain upon that account, by a Dominican Friar. Which when this Pope heard, he commended the action highly,

highly, in a full Consistory at *Rome*, and forbad that any funeral rites should be celebrated for him. Which funeral rites (usually celebrated at *Rome* for departed Princes) consisting most in prayer for their souls, it appeareth that his Holiness was not contented that he had slain that King by his Bull, but would also damn his soul.

Gregory the XIV. excommunicated by his Bulls *Henry* the IV. of *France*, forbidding all Peers, Nobles, Cities and Commons, to yield him obedience, and declaring him incapable of the Crown, as an Heretick and relapse. But that Bull was by the Court of Parliament, then sitting at *Tours*, condemned to be torn and burnt by the Hang-man.

Clement the VIII. did the same over again, and excommunicated *Henry*: The Bull was condemned as the other, to be burnt by the hand of the Hang-man. But the effect of these Bulls appeared by the attempts against the Kings life, which soon after followed; first by a Woman, next by *Peter Barriere*, and again by *John Chastel*; all denying him to be King, because he was not absolved by the Pope. Neither did the effects of these Bulls cease, after that the King was absolved by his Holiness: For by them the King got his death. *Ravilliac* who killed him, could alledge them when he was examined; and say that the King was an Heretick in his heart, and deserved to be slain, as an enemy of the Church.

Paul the V. was as turbulent as his predecessors, as he shewed it in his insolent and impertinent quarrel with the Venetians, because they had stopt by Edict

the

the giving of Lands to the Church, whereby the State loſt many tributes and ſervices. He threatned them of Excommunication, if they did not recall that Law. And upon their maintaining of it, he excommunicated them, and put their State in Interdict. But it took no effect, for none of their Clergy would or durſt obey it; the Jeſuites only excepted, who therefore were expelled out of their dominions. They condemned the Popes Bull by Edict, and forbad the bringing of it into their Territory, upon pain of hanging: Neither did they give any ſatisfaction to the Pope, when the buſineſs came to an Arbitrement: but forced him to make amends to himſelf, and to come to their terms.

In the beginning of this Popes reign, was detected that Treaſon, not to be matcht in any age for cruelty and depth of villany, the Gunpowder-plot, to have deſtroyed in one blow the King, the Parliament, the Judges of the Land, and all the flowre and ſtrength of the Kingdom of *England*. This horrid Treaſon was the effect of the ſeveral Bulls of the Pope before the Reign of our gracious King *James* of glorious memory; who coming into his Kingdom of *England*, found it lying under a Papal Interdict; and himſelf excluded from the Crown, by a Bull ſent into *England*, a little before the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, whereby all that are not Roman Catholicks, are declared incapable of, and excluded from the Succeſſion: of which his Majeſty complains in his Apology. And that Bull was produced in the Indictment of the Jeſuite *Garnet*, as the principal motive of the Gunpowder Treaſon.

This gave occaſion to the Oath of Supremacy, ſet forth

forth by the King and his Parliament then sitting, for the security of his Majesties Life and Dignity; wherein it is required of all to whom it is administred, to acknowledge his Majesty to be the lawful King of the Realms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and that the Pope hath no right to depose him of his Kingdoms, or dispense his Subjects from their obedience to him. Also that they abhor as impious and heretical, this doctrine, That Princes excommunicated by the Pope, may justly be deposed or slain by their own Subjects.

This Oath being presented to the Roman Catholicks, some of them made no difficulty to take it, among others, *Blackwell* the Arch-priest. Whereupon the Pope sent Apostolical Letters into *England*, declaring that *this Oath could not be taken with a safe conscience, and exhorting the English to suffer all kinds of torments, and death it self, rather than to offend Gods Majesty by such an Oath. To imitate the constancy of other English Martyrs. To have their loins girt about with vertue, to put on the Breast-plate of righteousness, and take the Buckler of Faith.* He tells them *that God who hath begun in them that good work, will perfect it, and will not suffer them to be Orphans*, &c. *And he injoyneth them to observe diligently the precepts contained in the Letters which* Clement *the VIII. his predecessor had written a little before to Mr.* George *Arch-priest of* England. By which Letters all Princes of a Religion contrary to the Roman, are excluded from the Crown of *England*.

Dated Sept. 22. 1606.

These Letters whereby the English were exhorted to be Martyrs of the Popes Sovereignty in *England*, and to

to make it an Article of their faith, which they must sign with their bloud, that the Pope hath power to depose Princes, and expose them to be expelled and slain by their own subjects, did not receive that entertainment which he expected among the English of his Religion: For some rejected them as supposititious, and forged by the Hereticks, to draw persecution upon them, and kindle their Kings wrath against them, he being already justly provoked to revenge by the late conspiracy. The Pope hearing of this, sends other, and more express letters into *England*, to expostulate with the Roman Catholicks; saying, That *he wondred at their doubting of the truth of the Apostolick letters, to dispense themselves upon that pretence from obeying his commandments: And therefore he declareth, That those Letters were written by himself, not only* motu proprio & ex certa scientia, *by his own motion and certain knowledge, but also after a long and grave deliberation, enjoyning them again to obey those Letters, because such is his pleasure.*

Dated *Aug.* 23. 1607.

To these Letters which set up rebellion with a high hand, as an Article of the Roman Faith, were joyned letters of Cardinal *Bellarmine* to *Blackwell* the Archpriest, wherein he chides him bitterly for taking the Oath, which under colour of modifications, had no other end, but to transport the Popes authority to a Successor of *Henry* the *VIII*. And by the examples of his Predecessors, he exhorteth him to defend the Popes primacy, whom he calleth *The Head of the Faith.*

Of this Oath thus prohibited by the Pope, and cried down by *Bellarmine*, the Jesuite *Becanus* saith, That

Becan. de dissidio Anglic.
Uterque negat salva conscientia præstari posse hoc juramentum quia abnegarent fidem Catholicam.

both of them [the Pope and *Bellarmine*] *deny that it may be taken with a safe Conscience; because by taking it, the Catholick Faith is denied.*

Is it then an Article of the Catholick Roman faith, that Princes excommunicated by the Pope, are *ipso facto* deposed, and their subjects absolved from all obedience and fidelity to them? It is directly, though not believed but by few: You have that fundamental Law authentically pronounced by *Gregory* the *VII.* and it is made a Canon of the Roman Church. *By Apostolical authority we absolve from their oath, all them that are bound by fidelity or oath to excommunicate persons, and by all means we forbid them to keep faith unto such persons.* I would ask the Roman Catholicks, Seriously do you believe this? And are you ready to seal that faith with your obedience or sufferings upon occasions? If you believe and will maintain it, you are not good subjects, but dangerous persons in the State. If you deny faith and obedience to that Papal Decree, you are not good Roman Catholicks; for if you were, you would acknowledge the Pope *the Head of the Faith*, with *Bellarmine*, and that the Pope cannot erre in his Canons, and that it is in the Popes power to make Articles of faith, according to the determination of the Council of *Trent*. Now the Pope hath made this an Article of your faith, the denying of it an heresie, and the resisting of it a crime punish'd in the persons of Kings by the deprivation of Kingdom and life.

Causa 15. Qu. 5. cap. Nos Sanctorum.
Eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate, aut Sacramento constricti sunt, Apostolica authoritate à juramento absolvimus, & ne sibi fidem observent omnibus modis prohibemus.

Open

Open your eyes, Christian souls, that are so much blinded as to pin your faith upon the Popes Decrees; And reading in your own Authors the histories of the Popes behaviour which I have here represented, acknowledge that those Decrees for many hundred years have been the powerful stirrers of rebellion in Christendom, and the ambition of Popes the first Intelligence that sets the great Orb of sedition on going.

After that the Popes have thus commanded and wrought rebellion by express Decrees, and filled the Christian world with fire and bloud these five or six hundred years, have the Jesuites the face, when we object this against the *Head of their Faith*, to object unto us in exchange some passages out of books either false, or disowned by us, if true: And the defensive Arms of a few persons, living under the Cross, and driven by themselves upon the brink of despair? The evil which Men of our Religion have said or done, we condemn freely and openly. Let the Romanists condemn also so many Decrees of the Popes which have been the Incentives of war, and brands of rebellion: But that they cannot, as long as they remain Papists, sworn to approve all that the Pope saith or doth.

The difference between the faults of the Pope and those of Protestants about the point of obedience, is this; That disobedience with us is a crime, but with him it is a Law. We punish rebels, but the Pope rewards them. We say to rebels after St. *Paul*, That *they that resist the higher powers, shall receive to themselves damnation*: But the Pope promiseth eternal life to make subjects rebel against their King. We abhor the murtherers

So did *Sixtus* the V. of which before.

therers of Kings, but the Pope sets them on by his excommunications, and after the murther committed, makes panegyricks on their praise.

Can the Romanists produce among us a Priest that hath made himself a Temporal Prince by robbing his Master of his land, who hath kickt down the Emperors crown, trodden upon his neck with his foot, deposed him from his Kingdom, made his son rise in Arms against him, absolved his subjects from their obedience, and given his Dominions to another; One that makes himself the absolute disposer of Kingdoms, and Master of the Universe? Such a Priest is no where to be found but at *Rome*.

After this true account of so many Emperors and Kings deposed and killed, and so much rebellion, slaughter, and desolation wrought in Christendom by the Papal excommunications and factions; let the conscionable Reader, who is not altogether ignorant in modern History, judge what truth there is in our Adversaries
Page 93. assertion, That *in this last Century of years there have been more Princes deposed and murthered for their Religion by those Protestants of Integrity, than have been in all the others since Christ's time by the Popes excommunications, or the attempts and means of Roman Catholicks.* He should have set down a list of those Princes deposed and murthered by Protestants, and for their Religion. For my part I have heard of none. Indeed *Charles* the I. our holy King and Martyr, suffered for his Religion: and the Adversary may take that one for many, because he was πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων, worth alone many Princes. But they that murthered him were not Protestants, they disavow

avow that name; And it was for the Proteſtant Religion that he ſuffered; yea, it was by the *Pope* and his Agents that he was put to death.

But ſince he ſpeaks of the *means and attempts made by Roman Catholicks againſt Princes*, he ſhall hear a little more of them.

CHAP. V.

The Adverſaries Defence of the Jeſuites examined. Their Doctrine and Attempts againſt the Crown and life of Kings.

THe Adverſary who is commended in the Epiſtle to the Reader, as *a moſt obſervant Son of the Church of* England, takes upon him the defence of the Jeſuite *Mariana*, ſo infamous for his doctrine of killing of Kings, and ſaith three things about that.

The one is, That he handleth that matter only problematically. But the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, compoſed of grave heads, did not underſtand it ſo, when they condemned his book to the fire. Neither doth he ſpeak of the murther of *Henry* the III. of *France* problematically, when he exalteth the murtherer in theſe words. *Making a ſhew of delivering letters* [to the King] *he gave him a deep wound above the bladder with a poiſoned knife which he hid in his hand. O admirable confidence of mind! O memorable action! by killing the King, he got to himſelf a great name.* And in the ſame place he taxeth the Kings ſervants, who preſently

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Mariana lib. 1. de Rege & Regis Inſtitutione, cap. 6. Specie literas in manus tradendi cultro quem herbis noxiis medicatum manu tegebat ſupra veſicam altum vulnus inflixit. Inſignem animi confidentiam! Facinus memorabile---- Cæſo Rege ingens ſibi nomen fecit.

sently killed that murtherer, of cruelty and barbarousness.

The second answer for *Mariana* is, That *the question was not for killing of Kings, but for killing of Tyrants.* This man shews himself a right scholar of the Jesuites, for this is their distinction. But if a King deposed by the Pope keeps his Kingdom in spight of him, they account him no more a King, but a Tyrant. And whereas there are two sorts of Tyrants, some by usurpation, which they call *Tyrannos in Titulo,* Tyrants in the Title; some Tyrants by administration; the Jesuites hold, That a lawful King when he is once deposed by the Pope, *begins to be a Tyrant in his Title, because he is no more a lawful King.* And being thus become a Tyrant, it is by their doctrine lawful to kill him. Therefore *Henry* the IV. of *France,* whom no body durst have called King at *Rome* before his absolution, was so often assaulted by murtherers at that time, because he was accounted a Tyrant as long as he reigned without the Popes approbation. Upon that account *Bellarmine* saith, That the Pope deposing a King, doth not permit the people to disobey their King, but he makes him that was their King, to be their King no more.

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Suarez. defens. lib. 6. cap. 5. Incipit esse Tyrannus in Titulo quia non est legitimus Rex.

Bellarm. in Barklaium, cap. 3. Non permitto tibi (inquit Papa) ut regi non pareas, quod esset contra jus divinum, sed facio ut ille qui tibi Rex erat non sit tibi deinceps Rex.

The third answer is, that the whole order of Jesuites disavows *Mariana*'s position, and have categorically determined the contrary. But why then did the same General of the Jesuites, who disavowed it when destruction was hanging over the head of his Order, approve and licence it before? For the Book was approved

ved by *Aqua viva* General of the Jesuites, and *Stephanus Hoyeda* Visitor of their Society in the Province of *Toledo*. And the approbation mentioneth that other Jesuites had approved it before.

Quippe approbatus prius à viris doctis & gravibus ex eodem ordine.

The Adversary brings some allegations out of Books of Jesuites that disown that position, that it is lawful to attempt against the life of a Prince. The Jesuite *Eudemono-Johannes* had made those allegations ready for him. He makes *Tolet* say in his *Summary, lib. 5. cap. 6.* that it is not lawful to attempt against the life of a Prince, though he never so much abuse his Power, and that it is flat Heresie to maintain the contrary. But these are *Tolets* words in the alledged place, That, *It is not lawful to kill without publick authority a Tyrant by administration, who hath indeed a just Title, but useth his Subjects tyrannically.* Now what publick authority doth he mean, but that of the Pope? And that is meant also by *Suarez*, who saith, *That a Prince may not be killed by any out of private authority for his Tyrannical Government, or for any crime whatsoever.* He will have a publick authority for it, which is that of the Pope. For both *Bellarmine* and *Becan* maintain, that the Pope hath the same right over Kings, as *Jehojada* had over *Athalia*. Now *Jehojada the high Priest* (saith he) *first deprived Athalia of her Kingdom, and next of her life.* And a little after, *All the power and jurisdiction that was granted to the high Priest in the Old Testa-*

Tolet Sum. lib 5. cap. 6.
Tyrannum administratione qui quidem habet verum titulum sed tyrannicè tractat subditos, non licet absque publica authoritate occidere.

Suarez Defens. fid. lib. 6. cap. 4.
Dicimus Principem propter tyrannicum reginen vel propter quercunque crimina non posse ab aliquo privata authoritate occidi.

Bellarm. lib. 5. de Romano Pontif. cap. 8.
Becan lib. de controversia Anglicana.
Jehojada Pontifex prius privavit Athaliam regno, deinde vita. *Et Paulo post*, Quicquid potestatis & jurisdictionis permissum fuit Pontifici in Veteri Testamento, hoc etiam in Novo promissum est illi.

ment,

ment, is promised to him also in the New. This is then that authority without which they will not have a King kill'd, and by which he may be kill'd, even the Popes authority.

Our Jesuite alledgeth *Salmeron*, expounding the 13. Chapter to the *Romans, Where* (saith he) *he referreth the act of* Ehud *against King* Eglon *to Gods express commandment.* That's granted. But hear him further. *It is not lawful for a private person to kill a Tyrant by his own authority, especially if he be in quiet possession and reign armed with Guards about him.* All the security which he giveth to Kings, whom the Pope will call Tyrants, is, that no Man by his private authority can kill him; but by the publick authority, which is that of the Pope, any Man may. And he giveth a good warning to such Kings to keep a strong guard about their persons, without which a Jesuite will soon find it lawful to kill them.

Salmeron in Rom. 13. Disp. 5. Non licet privato propria authoritate Tyrannum interficere, maxime si in pacifica possessione sit & armatus satellitio regnet.

Gregorius de Valentia alledged by the Adversary, saith indeed, *It is no way permitted, for a man to attempt upon the life of his Prince, albeit he abuse his authority:* But he addeth, *If it be not done by publick judgment.* Now that publick judgement is either that of the State, or of the Pope, or of the General of the Jesuites. But let us hear the same *Gregory* speak more home. *Temporal domination and superiority over Subjects, may by the Popes sentence be taken away from Hereticks. The reason is, that if they can be deprived of life, much more of all goods, and by consequence of all superiority over others*; taking it for granted

Greg. de Valent. part 2. q. 64.

Greg. de Valen. Tom. 3. disputationum in Thomam, dis. 1. q. 12. pun. 2. Dominatio temporalis & superioritas in subditos per sententiam Papæ potest omnino adimi hæreticis. Ratio est quia si possunt privari vita multo magis omnibus bonis, & per consequens omni superioritate in alios.

granted and presupposed that Kings may be deprived of life by the Popes Authority.

Bellarmine alledged by the Adversary, may have declared his opinion as the other Jesuites, that a King must not be deposed and slain by private authority; then it may be done by publick authority. And we have shewed before that *Bellarmine* alloweth the same authority to the Pope over Kings, as *Jehojada* had over *Athalia*, whom he deposed and killed; but he speaks more plainly, when * he commends the murther committed by a Monk against the person of *Henry* the III. of *France*, and calls the Murtherer *Sacratum Virum*, a sacred *person*. It seems then he had forgotten himself, when he *would not have Ecclesiastical men to kill Kings with their own hands*, but to stand to the method that the Pope observeth. Which is *first to admonish Kings fatherly, Then deprive them of the Communion of the Sacraments by Ecclesiastical censures. Finally to absolve their subjects from the Oath of their Allegiance, and if needs be, deprive them of the Royal Authority. The execution belongeth to others.*

* *Bellar. sub nomine Matth. Torti, pag. 84. & 85. Edit. Colon.* Ultus est Deus Christum suum dum per alium sacratum virum alioqui militiæ imperitum & inermem regem eundem non sine manibus divinæ providentiæ miraculo interfecit.

Idem contra Barkl. cap. 7. Non pertinet ad Monachos aut alios Ecclesiasticos viros cædes facere, multo minus per insidias Reges occidere; Neque summi Pontifices consueverunt ista ratione Reges coercere. Mos est primum paternè corrigere, deinde per censuram Ecclesiasticam sacramentorum communione privare. Denique subditos eorum à juramento fidelitatis absolvere, eosque dignitate atque authoritate regia privare: Executio ad alios pertinet.

The Adversary also alledgeth *Lessius* in his book *de Scientia & Jure*, he meaneth *de Justitia*. It seemeth the Man had heard of the book, but never seen it. But for that mistake, his quotation is right *.

* *Lessius de Justitia & Jure, lib. 2. cap. 9. dub. 4.* Talis non potest à privatis interimi quamdiu manet Princeps, &c.

In that place speaking of such a King as is not a tyrant by usurpation, but by administration, he saith, *Such a Prince cannot be slain by private persons, as long as he remains a Prince.* Which is altogether against the security of Kings lives: For the Popes Decrees and the writings of the Jesuites having so many times determined that a Prince deposed by the Pope, is no more a Prince, but a private person; this goodly Aphorism of *Lessius* exposeth the lives of all Kings deposed or excommunicated to the attempts of all private Men.* He alloweth also a subject *to kill his Prince in the defence of his own life*, contrary to the Evangelical precept of not resisting the higher powers. And that you may know him to be like his confreres in treasonable doctrine; He concludes that question thus: *If the tyranny groweth to that point, that it seem not to be tolerated any more, and that there be no remedy; He must first be deposed by the Commonwealth, or the States of the Kingdom; or by another that hath authority; and declared an enemy, that it may be lawful to attempt any thing against his person.* What is that *other person* that hath authority over King, Commonwealth and States? It must be one that belongs not to the State, else he should be a subject, and could not pretend to that authority of deposing the King, and exposing his life to all attempts. And what *other person* pretends to that authority, but the Pope?

* *Idem ibid. dub.* 11. Princeps non potest à subdito interfici nisi forte ob necessariam vitæ suæ defensionem.

Dub. 12. Si tantum excrescat tyrannis ut non videatur amplius tolerabilis, nec ullum aliud remedium supersit, primum à Rep. vel comitiis regni vel alio habente authoritatem esse deponendum & hostem declarandum, ut in ipsius personam liceat quicquam attentare. Tunc enim desinit esse Princeps.

He alledgeth also *Azorius* in his Moral Institution, but doth not quote any place. This is his doctrine, *All that were bound to an heretick in any manner, whether with oath or fidelity, or any other paction, Let them know that they are absolved from all debt of fidelity or obedience, &c. The Pope may take away or give a King for just causes, and then the people may obey the Pope as their superiour, who hath Sovereign power both upon the King and Kingdom.* If he hath sovereign power over them, he hath power of life and death.

Azorius bijl. Moral. part. 1. lib. 8. cap. 13. Eos omnes qui erant hæretico aliqua ratione obstricti jurisjurandi seu fidelitatis seu alterius pactionis liberari—— Absolutos se noverint à debito fidelitatis Domini, & totius obsequii quicunque lapsis manifesto in hæresin aliquo pacto quacunque firmitate tenebantur astricti.

Idem ibid. part. 2. lib. 11. cap. 5.— A Romano Pontifice Rex auferitur vel datur justis de causis & tunc populus tanquam superiori Romano Pontifici parere debet—— Habet in Regem & regnum summam potestatem.

And whereas this Gentleman alledgeth *Gretzer* as one that confuteth all *Mariana*'s grounds, I find that he defends them all in that very place which he quoteth. *We are not such dastards* (saith he) *as to fear openly to affirm that the Pope of* Rome *may, if necessity so require, free his Catholick subjects from their oath of fidelity, if their Sovereign handle them tyrannically.* Yea he takes openly *Mariana*'s cause, saying, page 160. that *Mariana* is *wrongfully traduced, for writing that it is lawful to kill any Prince that disobeyeth the Pope; since he maintains that a lawful Prince who disobeyeth the Pope, notwithstanding ought not to be made away by any private man, if sentence be not pronounced*

Gretzer. Vespertilio Hæreticopoliticus, pag. 159. Tam timidi & trepidi non sumus ut asserere palam vereamur Romanum Pontificem posse, si necessitas exigat, subditos Catholicos solvere juramento fidelitatis, si Princeps tyrannice illos tractet.

against him. And he that must pronounce that Sentence is the Pope. He complaineth also that *Mariana* is unjustly accused for affirming that a tyrant ought to be poisoned; seeing he maintains the contrary; affirming *that a tyrant cannot lawfully be made away by poison, if himself take it, and apply it to himself. Which cannot be avoided, when his meat and drink is poisoned.* So in the end he agreeth with *Mariana*, whose words I have produced in my second Chapter, and is content that a tyrant be poisoned, so that he takes not the poison himself. Is not that *straining the gnat, and swallowing the camel*? These holy murtherers make nothing of killing a King, only they are scrupulous about the circumstance.

Idem, pag. 162. Ne tyrannum quidem primi vel secundi generis etiam post judiciariam contra illum latam sententiam veneno licite tollis, si Tyrannus ipsemet venenum illud sumere & sibi applicare debeat.

Thus I have shewed what those Jesuites say, which this Gentleman alledgeth: All but *Serarius* and *Richeome*, which I have not by me, no more than he that quoteth them. And I have made it plain, that they all consent with *Mariana*, and speak the same Language.

But what! he tells us that the opinion of *Mariana* was condemned by a Provincial Congregation of the Jesuites; and that condemnation ratified by the General of the Jesuites *Claudius Aquaviva*. So it was, with shame enough, to *Aquaviva* and his confreres, who had approved and licensed it before. But see what that condemnation comes to, the Jesuites seeing their Sect made odious by the writings of *Mariana*, *Suarez*, *Vasquez*, and others, and more by the murthering of Kings,

Kings, by persons dyed with their principles, made an order among themselves, whereby they forbad to write or teach that doctrine any more. The words of the Ratification are these, *That none teach by writing or speaking, that it is lawful for any person, or upon any pretence of Tyranny, to kill Kings and Princes.*

Ne quisquam scripto vel sermone doceat licitum esse cuicunque personæ, quocunq; prætextu tyrannidis Reges aut Principes occidere.

Was it not time, think ye, to forbid teaching so any more, when they had been expelled for it out of *France*, and made the objects of the publick execration? But how gross is their fraud in that order! Do they forbid their Society *to believe so*? By no means, but to teach so. Neither will they have it lawful for *any person* to kill Kings, but to such as are commissioned for it. Neither will they have the execution done *upon any pretence of tyranny*, but only upon the definitive Sentence of the Pope or the States. And how are the lives of Kings and Princes more secure than before by their declaring that it is not lawful to kill Kings and Princes, seeing that in their account they are no more Kings and Princes, when they are once excommunicated and deposed by the Pope?

The Adversary alledgeth also the Council of *Constance*, which condemneth the doctrine of killing tyrants as erroneous. But if this Gentleman be a true Papist, and hold that the Pope is above the Council, he shall make nothing of that Councils Authority, seeing that it is not liked by the Popes; for we learn of *Mariana*, that neither *Martin* the V.

Mariana lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 62. Id decretum Romano Pontifici Martino V. probatum non invenio, non Eugenio aut successoribus quorum consensu Conciliorum Ecclesiasticorum sanctitas stat, præsertim quod non sine Ecclesiæ motu tricipiti Pontificum dissidio de summo Pontificatu contendentium celebratum fuisse scimus,

then

then elected, nor *Eugenius* nor his Successors approve it, and he disgraceth it as assembled in a tumultuous time, when there were three Popes reigning together.

But the truth is, That the Decree of that Council is rather against the safety of Kings. For the case propounded to the Council by *Gerson*, was not about the murther of Sovereign Princes, but about the killing of a great Officer of the Crown who ruleth tyrannically, and exalts himself above his King: for *John* Duke of *Burgundy* who had killed *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, pretended him to have been a Tyrant in that kind. If then such Tyrants be declared inviolable persons by the Council, the Council by its authority guards them against the attempts of loyal subjects, and strengthneth them against their King.

Suarez goeth another way to work to elude the authority of that Decree, saying to our Most Excellent King *James*, That the Council of *Constance* forbids not the killing of a King excommunicated by the Pope; for indeed that was not the case agitated in the Council.

Suarez in Reg. Mag. Brit. lib. 6. cap. 4. sect. 20.
Ubi leget Rex in Concilio Constantiensi particulam illam, Principis per Papam excommunicati vel deprivati? Aut illam, per suos subditos, aut alios quoscunque?

And now we are upon *Suarez*, we will set down here one of his golden sentences to this purpose. *If* (saith he) *under the word of Excommunication you comprehend deposition and devesting a Prince of his right, which sometimes is done by a canonical sentence, then there is truth in that proposition, that a King excommunicated may be deposed or slain by any persons whatsoever impunedly.*

Ejusdem lib. cap. 6. sect. 24.
Si sub voce excommunicationis comprehendatur depositio & diffidatio quæ per sententiam canonicam interdum fit, sic veritatem continere illam propositionem, Regem excommunicatum impune deponi vel occidi quibuscunque posse.

The

The Adversary concludeth his justification of the Jesuites, by alledging the Decree of *Sorbon* against the doctrine of King killing, and the Arrest of the Parliament of *Paris* against the book of *Mariana*. What style must be given to this Man's confidence? Could he presume so much upon the Readers ignorance, as to bring that for the Jesuites which is most against them? Who knows not that the Decree of *Sorbon* was directly made against the Jesuites, as the assertors of the doctrine of King-killing? Who knows not that the Arrest of Parliament which condemneth *Mariana*'s book to the fire, blasteth expressly the doctrine and the sect of the Jesuites? If he say that he brings that to clear the Roman Religion, he changeth the question, for he had undertaken to defend the Jesuites. And these allegations are for us, who desire to shew to the World, that many Professors of the Roman Religion abhor these principles, overcome by the evidence of honest truth; and therefore are not true Papists, since their belief is not ruled by the *Head of the Roman Faith* in the point which most nearly concerneth his power and grandeur. This Gentleman might be ashamed to alledge the *Sorbon*, if he knoweth what Decree was made by them, *Apr.* 4. 1626. against the book of the Jesuite *Santarel*, and the Jesuitical doctrine of King-killing: A Decree confirmed the 8. of *May* following by the University of *Paris*.

After these Allegations wherewith this Gentleman cuts the throat of his cause with his own sword, Judge ye what reason he hath to cry up, *By this time I hope the tempest is pretty well laid.* But he must have a little more of that tempest about his ears: And having so marred Page 96.

marred his own market, and given me occasion to lay open the iniquity of his sect, he must labour once more to *satisfie divers of his good friends whom he hath found scandalized at the Fathers of the Society, for protecting so villanous and treasonable a Thesis.*

Ibid.

If now I bring upon the scaffold some more of their most notorious expressions and actions, they may not blame me, as I do them, for charging the whole party with the faults of particulars: For whereas this Gentleman chargeth the generality of the Protestants with the opinions of *Knox* and *Paræus*, I charge not all the Roman Catholicks with these villanous doctrines and actions, but only the Court of *Rome*, and the Jesuites. These two I put together, for all that the Jesuites have taught or done to promote Rebellion and high Treason was undertaken to advance the Court of *Rome*, and by a particular influence from that Court, whose especial favourites and most devoted champions they are.

Since this Gentleman stands upon the sentence of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, let him hear that great man *Achilles de Harlay*, the first President of that Venerable Court; who, when King *Henry* the IV. of *France*, after long solicitations of the Court of *Rome*, was perswaded to recal the Jesuites banished before out of the Kingdom, made an Oration to disswade him from it. That Oration is related by *Thuanus* another President of that Court, who was then present. There that vertuous *Achilles* represents to the King the doctrine of the Jesuites, which is, *That the Pope hath that right to put Kings out of the communion of the Church; that an excommunicate*

Thuanus Hist. lib. 130. ad ann. 1604. Jesuitæ docent, Pontificem jus habere Reges extra communionem Ecclesiæ po-

communicate King is a tyrant, and that his subjects may impunedly rise against him. That every one of those that have but one of the least Orders of the Church, cannot be guilty of Treason, what crime soever he commit; because Clergy-men are no more the Kings subjects, nor under his jurisdiction: So that Ecclesiastick persons are by their doctrine exempted from the secular powers, and may impunedly fall upon their Kings with their sanguinary hands. This they affirm in their published books.

nendi; excommunicatum Regem tyrannum esse, & subditos impune contra eum insurgere. Ipsorum unumquemque qui vel minoribus Ecclesiæ Ordinibus sit initiatus quodcunque crimen admiserit in læsæ Majestatis crimen non posse incidere, quippe qui minime sint amplius Regis subditi nec jurisdictioni ejus subjecti. Ita Ecclesiasticos per eorum doctrinam à seculari potestate eximi, & Manus cruentas licere impune Regibus sacro-sanctis afferre. Hoc eos libris editis afferere.

That grave Judge spake that upon good ground; for the books of the Jesuites insist much upon the exemption of Clerks from Temporal Jurisdictions. Whence the Jesuite *Emanuel Sa* draweth this conclusion, *That the Rebellion of a Clergy-man against the Prince, is not Treason, because he is not the Princes subject.* Which words are omitted in the Edition of *Paris*, but they remain in that of *Collen*, and in that of *Antwerp*. For that reason *Bellarmine* finds great fault with those that slew the Monk who had murdered *Henry* the III. of *France*, (as I alledged before) because they had slain *sacratum virum, a consecrated man.* A more sacred Man in his opinion, and more inviolable than the Sacred Majesty of a King. The murder of that great Prince, the Venerable *Harlay* represented unto the King, and how it was exalted as a holy Act by the Jesuite *Guignard*, who had writ a book in the commendation of the murtherer. And puts his Majesty in mind of the Attempt made upon his

Emanuel Sa in Aphorismis tit. Clericus.

Rebellio Clerici adversus Principem, non est crimen læsæ Majestatis, quia Principi non est subditus.

Thuanus, ibid.

his person by *Peter Barriere* suborned by the Jesuite *Varade*.

He might also have put him in mind of *John Chastel* a Scholar of the Jesuites, who hit him in the mouth, and struck out one of his teeth, intending to have cut his throat. In his examination he confess'd that he being guilty of a great crime, was kept prisoner by the Jesuites in the chamber of Meditations, where after they had long terrified his soul, they propounded to him a way to lessen his torments in Hell which he had deserved by his crimes; and that was to kill the King, which the miserable youth promised and attempted.

Thuanus.

Upon this the Colledge of the Jesuites was searched, and many persons seized on, among which was found a book in the praise of *James Clement* the murtherer of *Henry* the III. written by the Jesuite *Guignard*, as himself confess'd, containing many arguments and reasons to prove that it was lawful and just to kill *Henry* the III. together with many inductions and incitements to make away his Successor, who was *Henry* the IV. then reigning. The Theams given to young Scholars, were found to be about killing of Tyrants, with praises of the attempt, and exhortations to it. And it was found, that after that *Paris* was reduced to the Kings obedience, the Masters of the Forms had forbidden their scholars to pray for the King.

The year before, *Barriere* being examined, had confess'd that the Jesuite *Varade*, Rector of the Colledge of the Jesuites, had incited and adjured him upon the Sacrament of Confession, and the Communion of the Lords Body, to kill the King; assuring him, that if

Thuanus.

if he suffered for it, he should obtain the Crown of Martyrdom. Upon all these evidences the Jesuites were expelled out of *France* by Arrest of the Court of Parliament, and a Pyramid erected with inscriptions declaring their expulsion and the causes of it, for a memorial of perpetual execration to posterity.

Upon that Pyramid the Jesuites were called Homines novæ & maleficæ superstitionis, qui Remp. turbabant, quorum instinctu piacularis adolescens dirum facinus instituerat.

Ten years after, they returned from their exile, the same Men, corrupting the youth, and working rebellion; till in the end they got what they would have, even the Kings heart, which they keep in their principal house *la Flesche*, after he had been stabbed by *Ravaillac*, a wretch, who in his examination and confession shewed sufficiently by whose instructions he was perswaded to that parricidial act, for he gave this reason why he did it, because the King would make War unto God, in as much as he prepared War against the Pope, and that the Pope was God, which is the plain doctrine of the Jesuites. And being inquired whether he had ever confess'd his design to any, he named the Jesuite *Aubigny*, and that he had shewed him the Knife: Which when *Aubigny* denied, *Ravaillac* maintained it to him before his Judges.

King James defence of the right of Kings.

To favour the design of killing that great King, and prepare the World for it, four Moneths before he was murdered, the Arrest of the Court of Parliament of *Paris* against *John Chastel*, who had attempted to murder him, was censured and forbidden to be read by an Act of the Consistory at *Rome*, and together the History of *Thuanus* for relating too plainly that horrid action, and

Note this.

the part which the Jesuites had in it. By the same Consistorial Act a Book of *Mariana* was censured; not that which approveth the murthering of Kings. The Court of *Rome* was not so unkind as to disgrace a work which doth their work; but another Book which treats of Coyns. Certainly had they disliked that notorious Book condemned to the fire by the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, they would not have forgotten to censure it while they were in hand with *Mariana*.

As soon as *Henry* the IV. was stricken, the Colledge of the Jesuites was environed with a Guard, the Magistrate and the People looking upon them as the Doctors and Contrivers of high Treason. And presently they were sued by the University of *Paris*, as corrupters of the youth, and teachers of treasonable doctrine. *Peter Marteliere* a famous Advocate pleaded for the University, and maintained that in the Confession of *Ravaillac* evident marks were found of the Doctrine of the Jesuites. The Jesuites were cast, and commanded to shut up their Colledge, and not to teach Scholars any more. The Kings Council required their expulsion, but they had friends about the Queen Regent, and were suffered to stay; and in time recovered also the liberty to teach.

Thuanus Hist. lib. 123. ad an. 1604.

Five years before that Kings death, it was a famous History how Father *Cotton* a Jesuite and his Confessor had written in a paper some questions which he had propounded to a Maid, who was said to be possessed with a Devil who told strange things. Among other things about which he would be resolved, these were some, *What should be the issue of the conversion of Monsieur*

eur de Laval, *and of the enterprises against* Geneva, *and the continuance of Heresie, and of the estate of* Madamoiselle Acarie, *and of the life of the King.* Which last question is a matter capital by the Laws, for which *Tertullian* giveth the same reason that an English Lawyer would give, because it is imagining the Kings death. This Paper he had laid in a Book which he had promised to Monsieur *Gillot* a Councellor of the Great Chamber, and through over-sight he gave that Paper with the Book.

Tertul. Apologet.
Qui de salute Principis vel summa Reip. Mathematicos, ariolos, aruspices, Vaticinatores consulit, cum eo qui responderit capite punitur. Cui autem opus est scrutari super Cæsaris salute nisi à quo adversus illum aliquid cogitatur, aut post illam speratur & sustinetur?

Two years after this Monsieur *de la Force*, Vice-Roy of *Bearn* and *Navarre*, by the intelligences which he had from *Spain*, by reason of his neighbourhood unto it, was advertised that a *Spaniard* of such a stature, of such a hair, and in such apparel, departed such a day from *Barcelona*, to go into *France* with intendment to make away the King by poison or other means. This Spaniard came to *Paris*, and address'd himself to Father *Cotton*, who brought him unto the King, and gave great commendations of him. A while after came the Letters of Monsieur *de la Force*, giving warning to his Majesty against that Spaniard, with the foresaid description. The King shewed the Letters to Father *Cotton*, and commanded him to bring back again that Spaniard. But *Cotton* returning a good while after, told the King that he could not find the Man, and that he was gone.

Not a year before the Kings death, *Cotton* writ unto a Provincial of *Spain*, divers things which the King had

had revealed unto him in confession: Which treachery being discovered, *Cotton* was in disgrace for six Moneths, and then was forgiven. But he did not forgive the King, who was stabbed soon after. A few days after the young King being importuned by him, put him off with this gird, *I will tell you nothing, for you will write it into* Spain, *as you did my Fathers Confession.*

Half a year after the Kings death the Court of Parliament seeing evidently, that the murther of the King, and that of his next Predecessor, were the productions of the doctrine of the Jesuites, condemned the Book of *Bellarmine* against *Barklay*, as *containing a false and execrable proposition, which tends to the overthrowing of the Powers ordained and established by God, inciting Subjects to rebellion, and withdrawing them from the authority of Princes, to plot against their Lives and Kingdoms, and trouble the publick peace and tranquillity.*

Santarellus de Hæresi & Schisinate.

I have spoken before of the Decree of the Theological Faculty of *Paris*, against the Book of the Jesuite *Santarel*, confirmed by the judgment of the University in *May*, 1626. The same Book had been condemned by the Gourt of Parliament of *Paris*, *Martii* 13. of the same year to be burnt. And because the Book was Printed at *Rome* by permission of the Superiours, and with the approbation of *Mutius Vitelescus* General of the Jesuites, and Master of the Sacred Palace, the Jesuites of *Paris* were sent for by the Court and demanded, *Whereas their General had approved that Book, and declared his opinion, that the contents of it were certain and good, whether they believed as he did.* They answered, that *Since their General lived at* Rome, *he could*

not

not but approve that which the Court of Rome *approveth. What do you believe* then? said the Court; *The clean contrary,* said the Jesuites. *And what should ye do if you were at* Rome? *As they do at* Rome, said they. To which some of the Court answered, *What then! Have these men one conscience at* Rome, *and another at* Paris? *God keep us from such Confessors.*

The same Court sent for Father *Cotton*, and commanded him to confute the Book of *Santarell*. *Cotton* being put to a sad *dilemma*, either to offend the Pope his Master, and his General and the whole Society; or to answer an Indictment of high Treason, freed himself by a sudden death, being in perfect health before; or some of his Society took that pains for him. It seems that the Court was more peremptory with him, than King *Henry* the IV. who shewed him once that Book of *Mariana*, which since was condemned to the fire, and commanded him to confute it. But he gave some ill excuse to the King, who press'd him no further about it.

About the same time that this great Prince was slain by the faction of the Jesuites, the Prince of *Transylvania* was in the same danger by them. So much is certified by Letters of the Baron of *Zerotin*, *May* 2. 1610. that a Jesuite perswaded a Lord of *Transylvania* in whose house he lived, to kill the Prince. But the Prince having discovered the Plot, killed the Conspirators, and the Jesuite the Author of the conspiracy.

This Jesuite was taken tardy, and had not the luck of many of his Confreres, who frame the plots, and look standing out of the reach of the blows, the acting of the desperate attempts upon which they have cast

others.

others. Yet there was a Scottish Jesuite of the Colledge of *Clermont* in *Paris*, his name *Alexander Hayes*, who was so zealous, as to wish openly, and that often, that King *Henry* the IV. would pass by his Colledge, that he might throw himself down upon him from the window and break his neck. But by that cross caper he might be sure to break his own. For these words, and for teaching openly, that it was good to dissemble and perform obedience in shew for a while, he was condemned by Sentence of the Court to perpetual banishment, and (if ever he returned) to be hanged without any other form of arraignment.

Now if from their seats in foreign Countries, we look to their doings in *England*, what troubles they have stirred, and what mischiefs they have plotted continually against this State, now above a hundred years, We are at a loss in that prodigious heap of iniquity. They have afforded matter to large Volumes of History, and the labour of the worthy writers, need not to be seconded by mine. And when the Jesuite *Eudemono-Johannes* in his Apologetick for *Garnet*, would excuse or deny the treasons wrought under the pretence of a Catholick zeal, the truth of them was asserted by the R. Reverend and Learned *Robert Abbot Bishop of Salisbury*, out of the publick Acts and Records of Courts, and out of the very books of Adversaries, *Bluet* and *Watson*. How many attempts were made against the life of the Blessed Queen *Elizabeth*? And in what treason was there a Jesuite wanting? *Parry*, *Cullen*, *Williams*, *York*, *Squire*, *Hesket*, *Lopez*, *Babington*, with his associates, and how many more? All were assisted

In his *Antilogia*.

assisted and prompted by Jesuites, as the judicial examinations will justifie.

And now we speak of *Babington* and his associates, I find two brothers *Bellamy*'s, both apprehended for hiding them, after they were openly proclaimed traitors, in their house near *Harrowhill*, where they were kept ten days, and clothed in rustical habits. There they were all taken and thence carried to Prison, where one of the *Bellamies* strangled himself, the other was executed with the conspirators; his name *Hierome Bellamy*. From which of the two brothers our Adversary *Thomas Bellamy* is descended, and whether from either or neither, himself best knows. But it seems by his behaviour, that the crime of *hiding and disguising traitors* runs in the bloud: For what is his covering of the parricidial doctrine of Jesuites with false constructions, but *hiding and disguising traitors*; whose doctrine is declared treasonable by sundry Acts of Parliament? Let him take warning by the crime and the ill success of these Men of his name, and apply to himself that Sentence of *Tully*, which he misapplieth to the Protestants of Integrity. *Miror te Antoni quorum facta imitere eorum exitus non pertimescere.* Since you imitate the actions of Men of your name, Sir *Bellamy*, I wonder you are not frighted, with thinking of their ends.

The Devil and the Jesuites having been so often disappointed of their attempts against *England*, in the end contrived the foulest plot that ingenious cruelty did in any age imagine; the Gunpowder-Treason, which shall be to the Worlds end, the wonder of succeeding

ceeding ages, and the shame of ours. This was the godly product of the English Seminaries abroad, and the Roman education. It is easie to judge that the plotters of it had been bred long in another Climate than the mild air of *England*; for it looks like one of the feats of *Cæsar Borgia*. *Non nostri generis monstrum nec sanguinis.* Of that attempt to cut off King and Kingdom with one blow, none could be capable, but such as had many years breathed the same air where he reigned, who wished that the Romans had but one neck, that he might cut it off with one stroke. But a Jesuite is capable of devising, and the Romish zeal of executing any mischief, though never so prodigious, to promote the Papal interest. And they have law for it, even the Roman Decree, the Oracle of the Pope himself. *We do not account them for murtherers* (saith his Holiness) *who burning with the Zeal of our Catholick Mother the Church against excommunicate persons, shall happen to kill some of them.* Now *England* was lying under many excommunications, when the Gunpowder-Treason was plotted, and lieth under them still, for they never were repealed.

Causa 23. q. 5. Can. Excommunicatorum. Non enim eos homicidas arbitramur quos adversus excommunicatos zelo Catholicæ Matris Ecclesiæ ardentes aliquos eorum trucidasse contigerit.

Truly so far we must excuse *Campian*, *Garnet*, *Hall*, *Hamond*, and other Jesuites, who have plotted or incouraged rebellions and treasons in *England*. They have done no more than they were commanded or allowed by the Pope. And here I must be a suitor to all the conscionable Roman Catholicks, who abhor these wicked ways, to acknowledge ingenuously that the

Actors

Actors were grounded upon the fundamental Laws of the Court of *Rome*. And that the Pope the Head of their Faith, is he that commands by his Canons and Bulls the slaughter of those that displease him, the breach of faith, the deposing of Kings, and the rebellion of the People, as I have sufficiently demonstrated before. If after that they adhere to the other points of the Roman Religion, upon this main ground of the Roman Faith, That *the Pope cannot erre*, they blind themselves wilfully, and building their faith upon an unsafe ground, they may come short of the end of their faith, the salvation of their souls.

This power of deposing Kings, and exposing them to the attempts of their enemies, so peremptorily assumed by the Pope, and so boldly executed by his zealous Agents, ought to be grounded upon some proof out of holy Writ. In all the passages which I have alledged out of Jesuites books, I find but two of those proofs.

The one of *Bellarmine*, who proveth that *the King of* England *is subject unto the Pope by a right common to all Christians, by reason of the Apostolick power; according to this Text*, Psal. 44. *Thou shalt make them Princes over all the earth.* In that Psalm, which with us is the 45. this promise is made to the Kings Spouse, which is the Church, the Spouse of Christ our King; *Instead of thy Fathers house shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make Princes over all the earth.* Answerably to that we learn, *Rev.* 1. 6. That *God hath made us Kings and Priests unto God our Father.* That blessing then (to be understood and fulfilled in Gods good time) belongs to all the true

Bellarm. lib. cui Titulus *Tortus, p.* 19.

Rex Anglorum subjectus est Papæ jure omnibus Christianis communi, ratione Apostolicæ potestatis juxta illud Ps. 44. Constitues eos Principes super omnem terram.

children of the Church. The ingrossing of it to the Pope alone, to the exclusion of all Christians, is a bold, and indeed a ridiculous inclosing of Commons without any warrant.

Suarez brings a proof of the like validity. After that horrid assertion alledged before, that after that a Prince is excommunicated, he may be dispossess'd or slain by any persons whatsoever: He prevents the objection out of *Rom.* 13. 1. *Let every soul be subject to the higher Powers*, and saith that the Apostle *never added, Let all be subject also to the Powers excommunicated and deprived by the Pope.* A recreative proof which would make but a poor *enthymema.* The Apostle addeth not, that we must be subject also to the higher Powers deprived by the Turk; *Ergo* if the Great Turk pronounce a sentence of deprivation against a Christian Prince, the Subjects of that Prince are free from their allegiance, and may dispossess and kill him when they think good.

Suarez adversus sect. Anglic. lib. 6. c. 6. sect. 24.

Paulus his verbis Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit Rom. 13. nunquam addidit, etiam potestatibus excommunicatis vel deprivatis à Papa omnes subditi sint.

But what! These proofs are as concluding as those that the Popes themselves bring to prove their power, as when Pope *Nicholas* the I. proveth the Papal power, because it was said to Saint *Peter, Kill and eat*; and because *to him alone was granted that power to draw a Net full of Fishes to Land.*

Nicholaus 1. Epist. ad Michael. Imp. Constant.

Petro specialiter ostensum est ut ea mactaret & manducaret: Illi soli jussum est ut rete plenum piscibus ad littus traheret.

Likewise *Bonifacius* the VIII. proveth his primacy and Sovereignty, because it is written, that in the beginning God created Heaven and Earth. *Joseph's* Coat of many colours, and the Head of *Holofernes* would have been as pertinent to prove the Popes Temporal and

Bonifac. VIII. Extravag. Unam Sanctam.

and Spiritual power. Yet see how resolutely and syllogistically his Holiness concludes upon those premisses; *Wherefore we declare, say, define, and pronounce, that it is of necessity of salvation to be subject to the Roman Prelate.*

After these scientifical proofs of the Popes power to dispose of the Crowns and Lives of Princes, Who should make any more doubt of it! Who would not in the strength of these reasons venture his life to dethrone Heretick Kings, and spill their hearts bloud for a sacrifice of sweet savour unto his Holiness!

CHAP. VI.

Some Assertions of the Libeller are examined.

After I have vindicated the Protestant Religion from the aspersion of Rebellion, and laid that charge in its proper place, I have done my main business. And now partly out of compassion, partly out of contempt, I will pass by most of the untruths of this Libeller, which are well nigh as many as his lines, contenting my self to have disproved two of them. The one, *That the Rebel-doctrines are back'd by the generality of them that call themselves Protestants.* Page 109. But I have proved the contrary by their publick Confessions.

This plain dealing of his is towards the latter end of his Book: He durst not have spoken so in the beginning. But he must amuse the Reader a great while with railing against the Presbyterians, or the Protestants of Integrity,

tegrity, before he charge the generality of the Protestants with rebellion. Besides, he might hope that few would have the patience to read his Book so far.

This is worse. *In this Century of years* (saith he) *there have been more Princes deposed and murthered for their Religion by these Protestants of Integrity, than have been in all the others since Christ's time by the Popes excommunications, or the attempts and means of the Roman Catholicks.*

It is not easie to determine whether malice or ignorance be prevalent in that assertion. I have shewed by unreproachable testimonies, that the Popes have filled Christendom with sedition and rebellion for many centuries of years; and what the Jesuites have been acting under them in this last Century. To which since the Libeller confines himself, it had been no hard task to name those many Kings deposed and murthered by the Protestants so lately, if the assertion had any truth in it.

When did a Protestant Minister thrust his Knife into his Sovereign's Body, as the Monk *James Clement* did to his King *Henry* the III. and as the Jesuite *Campian* would have done to his Sovereign Queen *Elizabeth*? When did a Minister instruct any to kill his King, as the Jesuites did *Parry*; the Jesuite *Walpole*, *Edward Squire*; the Jesuite *Holt*, *Patrick*, *Cullen*, *York*, and *Williams*; the Jesuite *Parsons*, *Hesket* to tempt the Earl of *Darby* to rebellion? Or as the Jesuite *Varade* instructed *Barriere* to kill *Henry* the IV. of *France*, and the whole Colledge of the Jesuites *John Chastell*: Or what Protestant, either of the Clergy or Laity was known to have made

made an attempt against the life of his Sovereign? For the late English Traitors who brought their most excellent Sovereign to the Scaffold, are no more Protestants than they are Papists, and are Jesuites in the point of obedience, as being acted by the Jesuites.

When this Libeller called the Ministers of *Scotland rare Saltpeter-men, fit for fire-works, and to prepare matter to blow up both Church and State*, Did he remember that he gave them the right style belonging to the Jesuites *Garnet*, *Hall*, *Hammond*, *Gerard* and *Greenville*? For these were *Saltpeter-men* with a witness; and without metaphor, *prepared matter to blow up Church and State.*

Was it ever put to the charge of a Protestant Divine, Chaplain to his Prince, that he recommended to him a Man sent by his enemies to make him away? Or that he made questions to the Devil about his life? Or that he sent word to his enemies of such things as he had revealed unto him to ease his Conscience, as the Jesuite *Cotton* did? Or did ever our Divines blow the Doctrine of King-killing into ignorant souls, as the Jesuites did to *Ravaillac*; who being most rude, and a very Brute in all other points of Religion, was found by his examiners exquisitely skilful in all the evasions and distinctions of the Jesuites about that horrible doctrine? Or did any convicted Traitor depose that he had declared his purpose to a Minister, and shewed him the Knife for the execution, as *Ravaillac* maintained to Father *Aubigny* before his Judges? Some such charges which might be justified by Records of Courts, and Judicial proceedings, this Accuser would have brought, if there had

had been any; and we are sure that he would not have spared us. If ever any Man deserved to be sued upon an Action of Slander, it is this Libeller; for thus slandering the generality of the Protestants, and the State, of which he is a Subject. But I fear that if a Pursuivant were sent for him, he would return and answer, *Non est inventus.*

Page 110. As for his saying, That *the doctrine of* Rome, *with the opinions and practices of all its Doctors, are (as he hath shewed) quite contrary to rebellion, and all that is said against that Church in this particular is meer calumny.* Let the World judge whether he hath shewed what he saith, and whether is more credible, his saying, or my proving. Yet because he stands for the Roman Church, I desire my Reader to take notice, that in this point of obedience my quarrel hath been with the Court, not with the Church of *Rome*; between which I conceive as much difference, as between the Wind and the Sea. The Church might be quiet enough from storms of rebellion, did not the boisterous Wind of sedition make it foam, blown from the Court of *Rome* by its agents the Jesuites.

After that the Libeller had railed against us, he falls upon a common place of loyalty, and brings some texts of S. *Austin*, taken out of Protestant books made by our Reverend Divines against the late Rebels. For that he is not acquainted with S. *Austin*, he shews it by the commendation he giveth him, calling him *the most an-*
Page 119. *cient and learned Father of the Christian Church.* S. *Austin* deserveth a better commendation, but he is neither the most ancient, nor the most learned of the Fathers.

Most

Most of those whom the Church calls Fathers, were before him, for he died in the fifth Century; And as for Learning, *Origen* and *Hierome* were far beyond him. Could the English Seminaries pitch upon no abler Champion to fight against us than this raw souldier? A more passionate and less reasonable Writer I never met with. His style is a perpetual barking, and biting too, but without teeth. I could lay up a great heap of his untruths, ignorances, and impertinencies, if I would make such a wilde-goose-chase as to follow him in all his false turns: But both my Readers and I have better businesses than to heap up dung, or search all the Impostures of a Novice of the Jesuites.

For the end, he brings some rules of Law concerning the nature of the English Monarchy; which if he had studied well, he had never taken upon him to defend the doctrine of the Jesuites, which is inconsistent with them: For they allow not that which he affirmeth; *That the Monarchy of* England *can do no homage, having no superiour; and that the Crown of* England *is independent, and his* jura Regalia *are holden of no Lord but the Lord of Heaven. Bellarmine* saith the clean contrary, and makes the Pope Sovereign of *England* by double right, as we heard before. Yet this Scholar of the Jesuites may give *Bellarmines* sense to that assertion, that the Crown of *England* is independent; for holding with his Masters, that the Crown of *England* belongeth to the Pope, he will say also that it is independent, and oweth homage to none but God; meaning, that the Pope, the right Sovereign, oweth homage for it to none but God. The Man being evidently a Scholar of

the Jesuites, cannot but be instructed in the doctrine of equivocations, about which *Tolet* gives large instructions in his book of *the Instruction of Priests*, saying expressly, That *it is lawful sometimes to use equivocations, & to deceive the hearer.* And *Sanchez* tells us in what case it is lawful to equivocate: *There is a just cause* (saith he) *to use these equivocations, whensoever it is necessary or useful for the preservation of body, honour or estate.*

Tolet, lib. 4. Instruct. Sacerd. cap. 21. Aliquando uti licet æquivocatione, & decipere audientem, ut cum Judex petit juramentum ab aliquo ut dicat crimen vel proprium vel alienum si omnino est occultum, & jurare cogatur, utatur æquivocatione puta. Nescio, intelligendo intra se, ut dicam tibi vel simile. Et *lib. 5. c. 38. & lib. 4. c. 21, 22.*

Sanch. oper. Mor. l. 3. c. 6. num. 19. Causa jure utendi his amphibologiis est, quoties id necessarium aut utile est ad salutem corporis, honorem, res familiares tuendas.

Since then the Sect and Religion of the Jesuites, which subjecteth the Crown of *England* unto the Pope, cannot subsist in *England* without palliating that criminal doctrine with equivocation: They find it necessary for the preservation of body, honor and estate, to profess that *the Monarchy of* England *can do no homage, having no superiour; and that the Crown of* England *is independent*: but to whom that independent Crown belongs, that they will reserve in their thoughts. Or if they say they will be true to the King, they will by the King understand the Pope, or the King of *Spain*, to whom the Pope gave the Kingdom of *England* fourscore years ago, and never recalled that gift since.

Wherefore if this Gentleman appear in Print again, or any of his confreres for him about this point of obedience, we must desire him to speak more home, before he can justifie himself to be a true *Philanax Anglicus*, and a good English subject of his Majesty. To that end let him declare that he acknowledgeth the following Articles

Articles as true and just, and is ready to subscribe unto them.

The Kings Most Excellent Majesty *Charles* the *II.* hath no superiour on Earth, *de jure*, in the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and other His Majesties Dominions. I.

All Roman Catholicks born in these His Majesties Dominions, are his subjects, *de jure*, and of none else, although they have taken the Orders of the Church of *Rome*, or have a General of some Religion to whom they have sworn obedience. II.

The Doctrine of Cardinal *Bellarmine* is false, that the King of *England* is subject to the Pope by double right, besides his pretended subjection in matters spiritual. III.

The Pope hath no power to deprive Kings of their Kingdoms, or any way to dispose of their Crowns or their Lives. IV.

The Pope cannot absolve the subjects of His Majesty King *Charles* the *II.* or of any of His Successors, from the Oath of their Allegiance. Neither are they now absolved from it by any precedent Decree from the Popes. V.

A King declared heretick or excommunicate by the Pope, is not thereby disabled from exercising his Kingly jurisdiction. VI.

VII. The excommunicating or depriving of a King by the Pope, doth not exempt that Kings natural subjects from the duty of their Allegiance.

VIII. King *John* had no power to give his Kingdom to the Pope, without the consent of his Peers and Commons: Neither is that Contract of any validity.

IX. A Priest having learned in Confession a Conspiracy against the Kings life, ought to discover it to the King or his Council.

X. The Peers and Commons of *England*, and other His Majesties Dominions, have no power to judge their King, much less to depose him, or put him to death, or to chuse another King, or to alter the Government of the State.

He that will refuse to subscribe these Articles, and openly profess his consent unto them, cannot justifie his love and fidelity to the King, and is altogether unfit to charge the Protestants with rebellious tenets. *Vacuum culpa esse decet qui in alium paratus est dicere.* He that is in an error cannot justifie himself but by forsaking it. That yielding is glorious; and to be overcome by the truth is a great victory. Without such a justification, lessons of loyalty given by a Jesuite are unsuitable, and of as little effect as a Lecture of Chastity preach'd by an allowed Curtizan of *Rome*.

JOH. VIII.

Γνώσεσθε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐλευθερώσει ὑμᾶς.

CAROLE qui Latias artes & fulmina bruta,
Et Capitolini contemnis Vejovis iras,
Macte manumissus cœlesti lumine Princeps,
Lumine Romuleas tibi dispellente tenebras,
Assertamque sacro capiti firmante coronam.
Dum trepidi Reges & sancti luminis orbi
Serva Quirinali submittunt colla tyranno,
Tu liber specta stantes ad frena Monarchas
Stratorum officio, succollantesque cathedræ
Augustos lixas, mox flexo poplite curvos
Turpia purpureo libantes oscula socco.
Erige tu curvos rectus; fratresque doceto
Quos Regum Pater agnoscit Natosque Deosque,
Quam male prostituat divum Rex sanctus honorem
Tarpeiam lambens crepidam; solosque pudendum
Excussisse jugum, libertatique litasse,
Gnaviter amplexos cœlestia lumina Reges.

FINIS.

ADDITION.

FOR a further evidence of the great endeavour of the Court of *Rome* to advance the Popes power, by the Rebellion of Subjects and destruction of Kings, I will add to this Third Edition the famous transaction between the Pope and the Duke of *Guise*, the ground and the plat-form of the League. A rare piece, *& Romulea domus æternum opprobrium.*

Here I have need to say something of the posture of the affairs of *France* in those days, without which this Negotiation cannot be understood. *Catherine de Medicis*, Mother of three Kings, to keep her assumed authority, would always balance the Kings power with strong Factions, and sow dissention between her Sons. In the years 1574 & 1575 she set on the Duke of *Alanson*, the Kings only brother, to take Arms against his brother *Henry* the *III.* to reform the abuses of the Government, and to right the oppressed Princes of the blood. The discontents of the People being great, he had soon gathered a Puissant Army, and though the Protestant party declared not for him, he could not want Souldiers among a People that was yet bleeding of

of the late horrible Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew*'s day. Being thus grown formidable to the King, he ſold the laying down of his Arms very dear. The intereſt of the Princes of the blood was conſidered, and a ſhort-lived peace and liberty of Religion was granted to their Proteſtant party.

To excuſe that grant, againſt which the Pope was ſtorming, the Biſhop of *Paris* was ſent Embaſſador to *Rome*. But that Biſhop being altogether devoted to the houſe of *Lorraine*, which then began to mutter their claim to the Crown, as deſcended from *Charlemagne*; he did rather labour to caſt an *Odium* upon the King and the Royal houſe, and to make the Court of *Rome* partial for the Duke of *Guiſe*. Which that Court did greedily embrace, ſeeing the King and the Royal blood weak, divided and hated, and the Duke of *Guiſe* ſtrong in friends, and idolized by the People: So while that Pretender was high ſwoln with hopes, they would engage him, with all that lay in them, to yield to the Pope that abſolute power in *France*, which is abridged by the liberties of the *Gallicane* Church, and the Pragmatick Sanctions, wherewith the Popes were made to tye their hands againſt their will.

This Negotiation is called by the Hiſtorians, *The memoires of Advocate David*, which the ſaid *David*, or rather his Lord the Biſhop of *Paris* (whoſe Secretary he was) brought from *Rome*. But it miſcarried in the way, and came into the hands of the Royaliſts; *Davids* Trunks being ſeized on and ſearched at *Lyons*, of which the following Epiſtle gives account.

AN

AN EXTRACT OF A COUNCIL Held at ROME

Anno 1576.

Publiſhed the ſame Year with this Epiſtle to the Reader.

Gentle Reader,

IF *ever there was a conſpiracy plotted for the deſtruction of our King and Kingdom, it is this, of which I give thee here the Extract, taken out of a more ample Diſcourſe of the things lately deſigned in the* Roman *Conſiſtory a little after the coming of the Biſhop of* Paris.

That discourse contained many more Articles concerning the other States of Christendom. But because the whole writing would have been too prolix, we thought it sufficient to take out of it that which concerneth our France. *How-soever by this scantling it will be easie to judge how pernicious to a neighbouring State is many times the counsel of Strangers, seeing that this Council threatneth us of no less than utter ruine. For they are not only the great and notable families of* France *that are designed for oppression, but the King himself and this illustrious family of* Valois. *Yea it would make void the most ancient Priviledges and Immunities of the* Gallican *Church. And that it may not seem to be a discourse invented and formed by us, They that were present at the opening of a Coffer belonging to one* David, *Advocate in the Parliament of* Paris, *who attended the said Bishop in his journey to* Rome, *may give a good account of this business. Besides it is known that already part of this Council is executed, and that the most part of the stirring and factious men in this Kingdom look to see the rest shortly brought to effect. My end in publishing this is, that every good and true* French-man *set himself to oppose vertuously such pernicious designs, doing that which he sees to belong to his part for the good and defence of his Countrey: And that the great persons suffer not themselves to be cheated by the destructive counsel of Strangers, who never think their interest well setled but by the ruine and subversion of their neighbours.*

At Lyons, Novemb. 15. 1576.

Concern-

Concerning the Buſineſſes

OF

FRANCE.

IT is certain that Wars have rather hindred than advanced the holy Church, though they had wrought no worſe effect than the licentiouſneſs of writing what every one liſteth of the Holy See; whereby the Hereticks have been hardened, and moſt part of the Catholicks have learned to deſpiſe and deride it. Wherefore the iſſue of victories ending in a ſhameful peace, hurtful unto the Church, hath finally made it evident, that although the race of *Capet* hath ſucceeded in the temporal adminiſtration of the Kingdom of *Charlemagne*, yet it hath not ſucceeded in the Apoſtolick bleſſing affected to the poſterity of the ſaid *Charlemagne* only, but rather in the curſe.

That as the ſaid *Capet* uſurping the Crown, violated by a raſh audaciouſneſs the bleſſing of *Charles*, he alſo purchaſed for himſelf and his deſcent a perpetual curſe, which hath made his ſubjects refractary and diſobedient to the ſaid Church. And to ruine it, the ſaid line of *Capet* hath brought in that damnable Error which

the *French* call the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, which is nothing else but the shift of the *Waldenses*, *Albigenses*, Poor of *Lyons*, *Lutherans*, and now of the *Calvinists*. No wonder then that the victories of the *French* Kings, who these sixteen years have fought for the defence of the Catholick Church have not prospered at all; neither shall they ever prosper as long as the Crown shall continue in that Line.

But it seems that God hath prepared and disposed, by the bringing forth of this last peace, the Parties, the Judges, and the occasion for the restoring of the Crown to the true Successors of *Charlemagne*, who to the last of their race, having constantly obeyed and acquiesced to the command of the Holy See, have shewed themselves in effect the lawful Heirs of the Apostolick blessing in the Crown of *France*, though deprived of the temporal inheritance by fraud and violence.

It is manifest that the race of the *Capets* is altogether given over to a reprobate sense; some being smitten with a spirit of giddiness, stupid men, and of no worth: Others cast away by God and Men for their Heresie, proscribed and rejected from the holy Ecclesiastick Communion.

Whereas the off-springs of *Charlemagne* are green and flourishing, lovers of vertue, full of vigour in mind and body, to execute high and laudable things. Wars have served to raise their degree, honour and prehemi-nence: Peace will restore them to their ancient inheritance of the Kingdom, with the good will, consent and election of all the People. Wherefore we must make no manner of doubt, but that the conditions granted

granted to the Hereticks by the late Edict of Peace, though advantageous for them, proceed from Heaven, not from Men : That the praiſe, honour and glory of the profligation of the Hereticks may remain unto God alone, and to the bleſſing of his holy Vicar.

To attain to that, order muſt be given in all the Catholick Towns, that the People be ſtirred by wholſome Sermons to hinder by force the eſtabliſhing of the preaching of the abominable Sect, according to the permiſſion contained in the Edict.

The King muſt be counſelled not to be troubled for the popular commotions about that matter, but ſecretly to commit the whole care of it to the Lord of *Guiſe*, who being authorized by his Majeſties connivence, ſhall with all boldneſs work the Gentry and the Inhabitants of Cities into a League, and ſo ſolemnly oblige them by Oath, that they remain ſubjected not only to his conſcience, but to his faith in particular, ſo that they may not acknowledge any Head or Leader of the League but his Excellency.

The ſaid Lord of *Guiſe* ſhall give order, that Pariſh Prieſts, both in Towns and Villages make liſts of all their Pariſhioners able to bear Arms; which liſts they ſhall ſend to the ſaid Lord, who ſhall ſet Captains over the ſaid Pariſhes to take notice of the ability of the liſted perſons, and what Arms they are fit for. And the perſons liſted ſhall be warned by their Prieſts in confeſſion what Arms they muſt provide, and what they are to do, under colour of ſtanding upon their defence.

In the mean while the King ſhall cauſe the States to be proclaimed (a trap for the Hereticks) with the greateſt ſolemnity that can be, according to the ancient cuſtom. Let the Lord of *Guiſe* at the ſame time ſend into every Province his moſt faithful Counſellors to eſtabliſh particular Meetings or Committees in the ſaid Provinces, of perſons true to his intentions, and diſpoſe them to receive diſpatches, and execute inſtructions by the counſel and order of thoſe whom he moſt truſteth, and in whom his Holineſs hath moſt confidence, by reaſon of the Oath which they have taken of fidelity to his Holineſs, and the obligation which they have to the Catholick King.

The Queen Mother muſt go to her ſtrayed and loſt Son, whom ſhe ſhall eaſily perſwade to return near the perſon of the King his brother, to attend him to the States: To which alſo ſhe ſhall endeavour to draw the King of *Navarra* and the Prince of *Conde*, repreſenting to them, that unleſs they appear in the States, they ſhall be declared rebels and contumacious.

And to take from them all excuſe and likelihood of danger, the Duke of *Guiſe* and his brothers ſhall abſent themſelves from the Court with a ſhew of diſcontent. And the King muſt be perſwaded to leave *Paris*, and go to ſome place of free acceſs, where his brother may come to him, and the King receive him and all thoſe that attend him, with all the feaſtings and careſſes which ought to be uſed towards thoſe whom we will ſecure from fear.

When the time of the States draws nigh, the Captains of Pariſhes ſhall make a ſecret review of their men

men and their equippage. Among whom they ſhall chuſe ſuch a number as the Head of the League ſhall command, to ſend them and make them march ſpeedily where they ſhall have order to go.

The States being aſſembled, before they propound any thing, ſhall ſwear from the Head to the members, to keep and obſerve that which ſhall be concluded and decreed in the States, and oblige the Corporations and Societies to the contribution of the neceſſary expenſes, till the final performance. It ſhall be decreed alſo, that his Holineſs be deſired to authorize, ratifie and approve the Articles and Decrees of the State in the form of a Pragmatick Sanction between the Holy See and the Kingdom, as the Concordats have been made before.

They ſhall make the ordinary ſucceſſion void brought in by *Hugh Capet*, and declare it ſubject to the diſpoſition of the States, as it was of old. It ſhall be decreed, that if any Prince of the blood, Lord, Gentleman, or any other preſume to oppoſe or hinder the execution of the Orders of the ſaid States, the Prince ſhall be preſently declared incapable of the ſucceſſion of the Crown, and the Lords, Gentlemen, and others, degraded from their honours and dignities, and their Eſtate confiſcated and acquired to the State; and the moneys ariſing out of them converted to the proſecution of them till the final execution, to death, if they be taken, if they be not, then *in effigie*; and in the mean while publick rewards ſhall be aſſigned to thoſe that ſhall ſlay them in any manner.

That

That ſecurity being once given and taken, the States ſhall renew the Oath of Allegiance and fidelity, which they owe to the ſucceſſors of Saint *Peter*; and ſhall proteſt to live and dye in the faith ſet down in the Council of *Trent*, which ſhall be ſubſcribed by the body of the State; declaring all Edicts made in the Kingdom at any time againſt the Councils to be vacated, repealed, and made void.

It ſhall be decreed, that the Edicts made by former Kings for the extirpation of Hereſies be obſerved and executed according to their form and tenor. The King now reigning ſhall be acquitted of his Edicts and promiſes made in favour of the Hereticks, their complices and aſſociates; to whom a certain term ſhall be prefixed to appear before the Eccleſiaſtick Magiſtrates, and thence ſent back to the Prince to obtain pardon of the crime committed againſt his Majeſty.

And becauſe the execution of the precedent Article might be hindred and retarded by ſome rebel Princes, the King ſhall be deſired to eſtabliſh a Lieutenant General, a capable Prince, expert and able in body and mind to bear labour and take advice of himſelf; ſuch a one as never had any part, communication or ſociety with the Hereticks: And that his Majeſty be pleaſed to honour the Duke of *Guiſe* with that place, as one that hath all the parts that can be deſired in a great Captain, worthy of ſuch a Commiſſion.

Next, the Aſſembly of States ſhall make a Remonſtrance to his Majeſties brother, ſhewing him his great fault to have abandoned the King his brother to joyn with

with the Heretieks, declared himſelf their Head, raiſed an Army againſt him, and finally conſtrained his ſaid Brother and Lord, not only to give him an exceſſive and unreaſonable portion, but alſo to permit and authorize that abominable impiety. And becauſe ſuch a crime is comprehended in the firſt head of High Treaſon againſt God and man, which is not in the Kings power to remit and pardon; the ſaid States ſhall require that Judges be given him to try him for the ſaid crime, after the example of the moſt godly the Catholick King, who uſed the like Trial againſt his own Son and his own ſelf.

The ſame day that this concluſion is made by the States, the Forces muſt appear, both of thoſe that ſhall be ſent from all the Pariſhes, as other either ordinary or extraordinary, to aſſiſt the execution of the ſaid concluſion, and ſeize upon the perſons, both of the Kings brother and all others there preſent, that have accompanied and followed him in his wicked enterpriſe. At the ſame time the Captains of Pariſhes ſhall take the field, with the reſt of their Forces, and each of them within his precincts ſhall fall upon the Hereticks, their aſſociates, friends and adherents in the Countrey and walled Towns, whom they ſhall put to the ſword, and ſeize on their goods, to be ſold and imployed to defray the Wars.

By this means the Lord of *Guiſe* finding himſelf attended with a mighty Army, ſhall enter into the rebel Provinces, which he ſhall eaſily ſubdue by intelligence and force, making himſelf Maſter of the Field, and deſtroying all with fire and ſword where he ſhall find re-

 ſiſtance.

ſiſtance. He ſhall famiſh the ſtrong places with little Forts built in the Avenues, without loſing time to beſiege them, as it was done before *Rochel*.

The ſiege of *Rochell*, *An.* 1573.

Having got ſuch a fair and infallible victory, and thereby got the intire affection of all the Towns of that Kingdom, and of the Nobility and Gentry, he ſhall cauſe an exemplary puniſhment to be made of the Kings brother and all his Complices. And finally by the advice and leave of his Holineſs he ſhall cauſe the King and Queen to be ſhut up in a Monaſtery, as *Pepin* his anceſtor did to *Childerick*.

By this means having rejoyned and reunited the temporal heritage of the Crown with that of the Apoſtolick bleſſing, which he poſſeſſeth now, being all that remains to him of the ſucceſſion of *Charlemagne*, he ſhall cauſe the Holy See to be plainly acknowledged by the States of the Kingdom *without reſtriction or modification*; aboliſhing then the priviledges and liberties of the *Gallican* Church, which he ſhall promiſe and ſwear before.

THere wanted nothing in the acting of that well contrived Play, but the end of it, to get the applauſe of the brutal world, which meaſureth goodneſs by the ſucceſs. But for that defect in the clauſe, they might have ſaid, *Nihil prætermiſſum, ite hac omnes & plauſum date.* For it is moſt true, that this plot was really acted, till the Stage broke under the Actors, when they were come as far as the fifth Act: For in the midſt of thoſe States, which the Duke of *Guiſe* had with ſo much labour packt up for his turn, he was ſlain with

with the Cardinal his brother by the Kings command. In revenge of that execution, which extreamly disappointed and highly inraged the Court of *Rome*, the King himself was slain by a Monk the next Year after; for which sacrilegious murther a most solemn thanksgiving was celebrated at *Rome*.

In the horrible villany of that *Roman* project we see a right character of the Satanical pride of the *Roman* Court; which to satisfie, all false and wicked courses are not only allowed, but prescribed, cheating, rebelling, killing Princes, pulling down Monarchies, drowning the World in blood and tears. Compare the Epistles of *St. Peter*, with this instruction of the pretended Successor of *St. Peter*, and judge whether they be endited by the same Spirit. *St. Peter* commands *submission to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake.* And he gives this reason for it, *For it is the will of God, that with well doing you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.* But the Pope both disobeyeth and destroyeth the ordinance of Man established by God, and commands Men to do so. And he confirmeth the ignorance of foolish men, and encreaseth the wickedness of ignorant men, by setting them on to work treachery, rebellion, high treason, and barbarous Massacres, to work his own greatness: And the *Italian* craft which holds always good, whereby a Man may compass his ends, is received as Evangelical doctrine, by them that take the Pope to be the Father of their Faith. But what! It is an Article of the *Italian* Creed, *ogni adjuto è bono.* Any thing that helps is good, said he that called upon the Devil to be eased of his Gout, when calling upon God did not ease him. God

1 Pet. 2. 14, 15.

* God shield this Kingdom and all that love the Lord Jesus Christ with sincerity from *the throne of iniquity, which frameth mischief by a Law*; forgive our enemies, and guide his Catholick Church with the Spirit of Truth, Righteousness and Peace.

Psal. 94. 20.

* That it may not be said that the Protestants alone father the rebellions and destructions hapned in the Christian Provinces upon the Pope, *Æneas Sylvius*, who since was Pope *Pius* XI. affirmeth, that there is no great slaughter, and no notorious calamity that hath hapned, either to the State or to the Church, of which the Bishops of *Rome* have not been the Authors; and *Machiavell* saith no less in his *Florentine History*.

Æneas Sylvius Hist. Austriæ.

F I N I S.